

Russia Knows What You Like / Shangri-La for Shirts

Newsweek®

13.11.2015

COME
HELL
OR

EUROPE'S
PLUMMETING
TEMPERATURES
WON'T STOP THE
REFUGEE CRISIS

HIGH
WATER



A close-up, high-contrast photograph of a gorilla's face, focusing on its eye and nose. The gorilla's fur is dark and textured, and its eye is a striking yellowish-brown color. The lighting is dramatic, highlighting the contours of its face.

HELP SAVE THE 'WOW'

These giants of the animal kingdom need help. Despite their strength and cunning they're no match for a poacher's rifle. For 50 years WWF has been securing protected areas worldwide, but these aren't enough to stop the killing. To disrupt the sophisticated criminal gangs supplying animal parts to lucrative illegal markets, we are working with governments to toughen law enforcement. We're also working with consumers to reduce the demand for unlawful wildlife products. Help us look after the world where you live at panda.org/50



Newsweek

NOVEMBER 13, 2015 / VOL. 165 / NO. 17



FIGHTING WORLDS: Europeans who fought on both sides of the war in Ukraine have been exposed to violence, trauma and the murderous lawlessness of a brutal civil war.

FEATURES

26 Disbanded Brothers

Many of the foreigners who fought in the brutal Ukrainian civil war are home now, and neither their governments nor their families know quite what to do with them. *by Mirren Gidda*

34 Dr. Carson and Mr. Hyde

His friends know Ben Carson as a brilliant surgeon and a generous man. So why does the surging Republican candidate say so many crazy things? *by Emily Cadei*

COVER CREDIT: PHOTOGRAPH BY YANNIS BEHRAKIS/REUTERS

Newsweek (ISSN2052-1081), is published weekly except one week in January, July, August and October. Newsweek (EMEA) is published by Newsweek Ltd (part of the IBT Media Group Ltd), 25 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5LQ, UK. Printed by Quad/Graphics Europe Sp z o.o., Wyszow, Poland. For Article Reprints, Permissions and Licensing www.IBTreprints.com/Newsweek

DEPARTMENTS

BIG SHOTS

- 4 **Vienna**
Open Table
- 6 **Yangon, Myanmar**
Free and Fair?
- 8 **El-Arish, Egypt**
External Impact?
- 10 **Konya, Turkey**
Selfie-Satisfied

PAGE ONE

- 12 **Refugees**
Cold Comfort
- 16 **Lebanon**
Pill-Gotten Gains

- 19 **Health**
From C to Shining C
- 20 **Russia**
The Kremlin Knows What You Like
- 22 **Britain**
Yes, We Can Make This Worse
- 24 **Conventional Wisdom Watch**
- 42 **Wildlife**
A Bug's Double Life
- 44 **Innovation**
No Stinkin' Badges
- 46 **Gender**
Stealth Generation
- 50 **Environment**
Keeping the Chesapeake at Bay

DOWNTIME

- 52 **Video Games**
The *Guernica* of Gaming
- 56 **Books**
The Man Who Likes to Kill Teens
- 58 **Travel**
Where the Wild Things Still Are
- 60 **Style**
White-Collar Wonder
- 62 **Art**
Orient Expressed
- 64 **Rewind**
20 Years



FOR MORE HEADLINES,
GO TO NEWSWEEK.COM

Newsweek

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Jim Impoco

DEPUTY EDITOR

Bob Roe

MANAGING EDITOR

Kira Bindrim

EUROPEAN EDITOR

Matt McAllester

CONTRIBUTING DESIGN DIRECTOR

Priest + Grace

INTERNATIONAL EDITOR

Claudia Parsons

CO-FOUNDER, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

Etienne Uzac

CO-FOUNDER, CHIEF CONTENT OFFICER

Johnathan Davis

MANAGING DIRECTOR, EMEA

Dev Pragad

EUROPEAN EDITION

EDITORIAL

DEPUTY NEWS EDITOR

Lucy Draper

TRAVEL EDITOR

Graham Boynton

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

Owen Matthews

REPORTERS

Felicity Capon

Conor Gaffey

Mirren Gidda

Jack Moore

Damien Sharkov

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

Robert Chalmers

Harry Eyres

Nick Foulkes

Adam LeBor

ART + PHOTO

ART DIRECTOR

Michael Friel

DESIGNER

Jessica Fitzgerald

PHOTO DIRECTOR

Shaminder Dulai

PHOTO EDITOR

Jared T. Miller

PRODUCTION MANAGER

Helen J. Russell

CONTRIBUTING PHOTO EDITOR

Chris Allbritton

CONTRIBUTING DIGITAL DESIGNER

Tuomas Korpijaakko

CONTRIBUTING DIGITAL IMAGING SPECIALIST

Katy Lyness

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS

Victoria Bekiempis, Ryan Bort, Jonathan Broder, Nina Burleigh, Janine Di Giovanni, Kurt Eichenwald, Jessica Firger, Abigail Jones, Max Kutner, Seung Lee, Gogo Lidz, Douglas Main, Leah McGrath Goodman, Jack Martinez, Paula Mejia, Polly Mosendz, Alexander Nazaryan, Bill Powell, Michele Richinick, Winston Ross, Zoë Schlanger, Zach Schonfeld, Jeff Stein, Lauren Walker, John Walters, Lucy Westcott, Taylor Wofford, Stav Ziv

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Elijah Wolfson, R.M. Schneiderman, Matt Cooper, Cady Drell, Grant Burningham, Jackie Bischof, John Seeley, Kevin Dolak, Teri Wagner Flynn

PUBLISHED BY

Newsweek LTD, a division of IBT Media Group LTD

GENERAL MANAGER

Dave Martin

ADVERTISING

SENIOR SALES DIRECTOR

Chantal Mamboury

GROUP ADVERTISING DIRECTOR

Una Reynolds

COMMERCIAL DIRECTOR

Jeremy Makin

SALES DIRECTOR

Gemma Bell

SENIOR COMMERCIAL MANAGER

Pierce Cook-Anderson

MARKETING AND CIRCULATION

SUBSCRIPTION MARKETING MANAGER

Tom Nichols

SUBSCRIPTION FULFILMENT MANAGER

Samantha Rhodes

NEWSSTAND MANAGER

Kim Sermon

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT MANAGER

Tom Rendell

Dubai Duty Free

Stylish designer bags
Irresistible fragrances
Glamorous sunglasses
One way to have it all

TRAVEL LIGHT
Shop at Dubai Duty Free



www.dubaidutyfree.com



Full of surprises.



BIG SHOTS

AUSTRIA

Open Table

Vienna—U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry chats with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov before talks with 17 nations, the European Union and the United Nations on October 30, to seek a political solution to the war in Syria. It was the first major diplomatic push to solve the crisis since Russia began airstrikes in September in support of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Iran was invited to the talks, despite the objections of Saudi Arabia and others who consider Tehran's support for Assad meddling. The U.S. also said it would send dozens of special operations troops to Syria.



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI







MYANMAR

**Free
and Fair?**

Yangon, Myanmar—Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, head of the National League for Democracy party, greets supporters after an election rally in the Yangon suburbs November 1. The November 8 election is the first in the country since the end of military rule in 2011 and will be a test of whether it is genuinely moving toward democracy. Myanmar's constitution prevents Suu Kyi from running for president, but her party is expected to make a strong showing. She has vowed to lead the government from her seat in parliament if the NLD wins.



JACK KURTZ



EGYPT

External Impact

El-Arish, Egypt—Wreckage from the Russian Airbus A321-200 that went down en route from Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, to St. Petersburg, Russia, was scattered over several square miles of Egypt's Sinai Peninsula near el-Arish on October 31. All 224 people on board were killed. Senior officials at Metrojet quickly ruled out technical failure or human error, and they suggested an “external impact” could have brought down the plane. But the investigation was just starting when officials made those comments, and other investigators said it was too early to say what happened. ISIS claimed responsibility, but experts said militants in the Sinai do not have the kind of weapons necessary to hit a jet at that altitude.



GRIGORYEV MAXIM

TURKEY

Selfie-Satisfied

Konya, Turkey—
Turkish Prime Minister
Ahmet Davutoglu
takes a selfie during a
rally of his Justice and

Development Party
(AKP) on October 30,
the day before Turk-
ish voters went to the
polls for a parliamen-
tary vote. Days later, it
was clear the AKP had
won back the majority
it lost in June, gaining
316 seats in parlia-
ment. That's just
shy of the 330 seats
needed to change
the constitution to
give President Recep
Tayyip Erdogan more
power by changing
to a system with an
executive presidency.

Erdogan's growing
authoritarianism has
alarmed human rights
and press freedom
advocates, who say he
is using the power to
crack down on dissent
and control the judi-
ciary and media.



HAKAN GOKTEPE







P A G E O N E

CHINA

REFUGEES

HEALTH

LEBANON

RUSSIA

BRITAIN

COLD COMFORT

Despite the dangers of the European winter, refugees are still coming, and many will die

OMID FATEHI KARAJO, his wife, Nadereh, and their 10-year-old daughter, Wanya, have made a bold decision. In a few days, they will pile into an inflatable raft and cast off from the Turkish coast in the hope of landing on one of the Greek islands. Sitting together on a sofa in front of their webcam, the adults don't smile much. Omid is busy explaining his story through a translator, his wife occasionally intervening, while their daughter alternates between sitting on them and sliding in next to them, grinning shyly through her mass of black curls at the webcam. "I am worried [about the journey]," Wanya says. "Especially from Turkey to Greece, because the sea is dangerous." She can swim, but her parents cannot. Omid says he will buy life jackets before his family sets sail.

The Fatehi Karajos used to live in Sanandaj, the capital of Iran's Kurdistan province. More than three years ago, following Omid's arrest and torture for his connections to Kurdish political parties, they fled to Iraqi Kurdistan.

But when threats came from Iranian security forces, the family crossed another border, this time to the Turkish city of Eskisehir, where they have lived for 19 months. Despite the approaching winter and the increasing danger of traveling now, they say they can't stay any longer in Turkey, where, as Kurds, they are often targets of racial abuse. Omid says he was assaulted recently by his neighbor. When he reported it to the police, he was told to leave, that they didn't want Kurds in their country. "The most important thing for us is safety," he says. "We know that there is cold weather [in Europe], but it is better than being threatened here."

Despite the plummeting temperatures, the United Nations refugee agency, UNHCR, has recorded 218,394 refugees crossing the Mediterranean this past October, which is dramatically higher than the total for the same month in 2014, when there were 23,050 arrivals. In previous years, the refugee crisis was affected by the seasons—summer saw high numbers of

BY
MIRREN GIDDA
[@MirrenGidda](#)



+
HUDDLED MASSES:
A Syrian child tries
to stay warm as
he waits near a
registration center
in the town of
Presevo, Serbia, in
September.



arrivals, but those dropped off during winter. In 2015, things are different. One reason is the route has changed. Approximately four times as many refugees are setting sail from Turkey to Greece—a trip that can take as little as 25 minutes in a sturdy boat—as those going from North Africa to Italy. Though winter storms over the Aegean bring lashing rain and high waves, making traveling in a smuggler's rubber dinghy a daunting prospect, many refugees believe the short distance makes this a comparatively safe option, even as winter approaches.

This trip, which over 41,000 people made in 2014, has been growing in popularity in 2015. "The route from Turkey to Greece and up through the Balkans is really a 2015 phenomenon," says Adrian Edwards, a UNHCR spokesman. One of the reasons for this is the worsening of conflicts in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan—three countries whose citizens make up 93 percent of the arrivals in Greece. These refugees are geographically closer to Turkey; it makes no sense for them to take the North African route. The number of people fleeing these countries seems likely to continue growing over the winter too. Syria has experienced a surge in fighting, caused in part by Russia beginning airstrikes on September 30, while in Afghanistan the Taliban continue to make gains.

Unlike economic migrants, those escaping war cannot choose when to leave. For refugees in countries like Turkey and Lebanon, where many live in miserable conditions with little money, the success others have had making the journey is encouraging them to follow suit rather than endure yet another cold winter where they are. Others are scared that the European Union might be preparing to shut its borders or make a border arrangement with Turkey. Even though it's cold and dangerous, they'd rather cross now than risk being locked out.

To encourage refugees to make the crossing, many people-smugglers, fearing a drop in business, have slashed their prices. Speaking to *Newsweek* via WhatsApp, a people-smuggler who goes

by the name Fida al-Hamwi says he is offering a special winter rate. A boat trip from Turkey to Greece costs between \$1,500 and \$2,000 in the summer. Now it's between \$1,000 and \$1,500, he says. Al-Hamwi's Facebook page, *Smuggled Into Greece*, shows a photo of a gleaming white yacht, though photos and videos on the page of people who have crossed safely show a black inflatable raft in the background.

The Fatehi Karajos paid \$1,200 each to their smuggler to make the crossing. They scraped together the money from friends and family, while Omid took various construction jobs, earning \$10 a day. Assuming the crossing goes safely, they will find little shelter in Greece. Rights groups, including Amnesty International and Save the Children, have criticized the Greek government for a lack of proper reception centers and shelters. "There is an awareness that they need to winterize the tents," says Patrick Nicholson, director of communications at the Catholic charity Caritas Internationalis, which is headquartered in Rome. "But it hasn't happened." On the Greek island of Lesbos, refugees are facing up to 48-hour waits to be processed, sleeping in tents not designed for winter. Others, he says, can be found resting in doorways or

PEOPLE-SMUGGLERS, FEARING A DROP IN BUSINESS, HAVE SLASHED THEIR PRICES.

under trees. In September, when Nicholson was in the Greek village of Idomeni, on the Macedonian border, he saw refugees sleeping on the train tracks.

Lack of shelter is a problem in Europe and along the Balkans route. "Europe as a whole hasn't had mechanisms in place for the mass arrival of refugees," says the UNHCR's Edwards. "Right now, if you look across Europe the asylum picture is extremely patchy." Even though sleeping outdoors or in flimsy tents may be feasible in the summer, it cannot continue into winter, which in the Balkans is brutal. Temperatures often drop to well below freezing, while heavy snow can block roads and stall transport. People routinely die of cold; others are stuck in their homes for days. These are the conditions that refugees plan to journey through to Western Europe in a march that many won't survive. "As we head into winter, it is looking extremely



WHO GOES THERE?
Hungarian border police shine a flashlight toward a family seeking to enter from Croatia in early October, before Hungary closed its border.

bleak,” says Edwards. “Robust reception capacities simply aren’t in place.... There’s a very real risk of deaths, of more people dying.”

At the Opatovac refugee camp in Croatia, close to the border with Serbia, temperatures have already dropped to around 37 degrees Fahrenheit, and it frequently rains. Charlotta Land-Al Hebshi, a child protection adviser for Save the Children who is currently in Croatia, says young children are soaked, freezing and sleeping in the open due to a lack of shelter and basic services. Since Hungary announced the closure of its border with Croatia on October 16, having already shut its border with Serbia, many refugees have had to pass through Slovenia to get to Austria, causing bottlenecks to build up. On October 21, refugees at a camp in Brezice, Slovenia, near the Croatian border, set tents on fire in protest of conditions there. They were tired of the delays, they said, while they lacked food, water and blankets to stave off the cold.

The Fatehi Karajos don’t have proper winter clothes, but Omid says they will just follow the other refugees once they get to Greece. When asked where she wants to live, his daughter Wanya beams, turns to the translator and quietly says “Oslo,” where her mother’s relatives are. It is painful to imagine this skinny 10-year-old girl journeying all the way through Europe in the rain and biting cold. Though aid agencies are on hand in transit camps to distribute raincoats, dry clothes and blankets, they cannot follow the refugees across countries, ensuring that they stay warm. This is the biggest problem facing governments, agencies and charities. “We do winterization programs for camps, for urban settings,” says Edwards. “But when it comes to winterizing a crowd—that’s something for which there is no ready-made solution.”

As they prepare supplies for winter, aid agencies know refugees will die. The grim question for the coming months is only “How many?”



PILL-GOTTEN GAINS

As war buffets the region, wealthy Saudis, Syrian rebels and young Lebanese have a growing appetite for amphetamines

LEBANON HAS long been a playground for wealthy citizens of austere Arab countries, but even the worldly Lebanese were taken aback on October 26 when security officials arrested a 29-year-old Saudi prince, Abdel Mohsen bin Walid bin Abdel Aziz al-Saud, on suspicion of trying to take 2 tons of amphetamines with him on a private jet bound for the Saudi capital, Riyadh. Lebanese police also arrested four

other Saudi men at Beirut International Airport in what the state news agency described as the biggest bust in the airport's history.

The prince's arrest has focused attention on Lebanon's notorious drug-trafficking networks and their ability to cross the Middle East's political and sectarian divides. Combatants in Syria's civil war, civilians in the battle-weary region and the wealthy citizens of the Gulf countries all have

BY
JEFF NEUMANN
[@jeff_neumann](#)



EYES FRONT: In 2012, Lebanese forces watched as tractors destroyed cannabis in the Bekaa valley. Since then, security forces have been diverted to deal with the fallout of the Syrian war.

a growing appetite for hard drugs. That demand has, in turn, generated fresh revenues for drug barons and militias, who, as they did in previous wars in Colombia, Afghanistan and elsewhere, have become allies of convenience in many cases.

Analysts say that the war next door has tied up many of Lebanon's security officials who might otherwise be fighting drug traffickers; many are busy monitoring the volatile border areas and the pockets of jihadis straddling it who are sympathetic to extremist Sunni groups involved in the Syrian war. The police and army's lack of focus on the drug-producing regions has inadvertently helped fuel the rise of the amphetamine trade. Lebanese hashish producers say the limited law enforcement presence in the country's Bekaa Valley in particular over the past two years has contributed to a barely interrupted supply of marijuana, driving street prices down and cutting into profit margins. That decline in profits, and the growing appeal of amphetamines in the Middle East, has created an incentive for some hashish dealers here to produce more amphetamines. In recent years, makeshift labs have sprung up in Lebanese villages and just over the Syrian border. These labs churn out a knock-off version of Captagon, a brand name for the widely banned synthetic amphetamine phenethylamine. That's what the police say they found on the Saudi prince's plane.

Drug dealers in the Bekaa Valley say they are used to dealing with customers from the Gulf states. "Saudis and other Gulfies are the biggest buyers of Captagon, absolutely," says Abu Hussein, a Lebanese drug trafficker from a village several miles from the Syrian border. "They believe it gives them special powers for sex," he adds, smiling mischievously.

The drug is not only popular for those rumored benefits; fighters from all sides of the Syrian war use the pill's speedy effects to stay alert for long stretches on the battlefield. Competing propaganda outlets frequently claim Captagon pills have been discovered on dead and captured enemy fighters. For Hezbollah and Syrian government forces, alleging that their enemies are taking drugs plays into claims that they are fighting against nonbeliever "terrorists."

The war in Syria has created supply as well as demand. Supplies of Captagon in the region rose after Syrian rebels lost the city of Qusayr to Hezbollah fighters backed by the Syrian army in 2013.



Qusayr has been transformed into a Captagon production and distribution hub and a hideout for notorious Lebanese Shiite traffickers, some of whom are subject to arrest warrants on charges of murder, kidnapping and currency counterfeiting, says Abu Hussein. The city, which was once home to roughly 60,000 mostly Sunni residents, lies on a strategic route linking Damascus to the Syrian regime's Mediterranean coastal stronghold. Today, according to Abu Hussein and people who have traveled recently to Qusayr, the city is mostly a transit point and garrison for Hezbollah and allied Syrian militiamen.

At times, the lines between drug baron and warlord become blurred. Lebanon's most flamboyant drug lord, Noah Zaiter, was filmed in September with Hezbollah fighters besieging the

"SAUDIS AND OTHER GULFIES ARE THE BIGGEST BUYERS OF CAPTAGON. THEY BELIEVE IT GIVES THEM SPECIAL POWERS FOR SEX."

rebel-held Syrian mountain town of Zabadani. Wearing his trademark cowboy hat, Zaiter pledged to destroy the Sunni militant group the Islamic State, also known as ISIS, in the name of Hezbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah.

Deep family ties on both sides of the border—and in both drug-smuggling organizations and militias—ensure that the flow of drugs, weapons and militiamen is largely uninterrupted. Most of the drugs go through the Bekaa Valley, a narrow, fertile basin that runs parallel to Lebanon's eastern border with Syria and is arguably the Middle East's primary hub for counterfeit amphetamine pills. Bracketed by two mountain ranges, the picturesque plain has long been known for the production and trafficking of narcotics—mostly locally grown hashish and cocaine smuggled from Latin America and West Africa.



"The Bekaa is basically a tribal land, ruled by clans that are heavily armed and often involved in the drug trade," says Timur Goksel, a former U.N. peacekeeping official in Lebanon, now an editor for the news site Al-Monitor. "The police are practically nonexistent there," he adds. "The whole structure of the Lebanese state allows this to happen."

The Lebanese army and police promised a crackdown on criminal activity in the Bekaa Valley in February, but after nine months Lebanese politicians have deemed it a flop. One Hezbollah member of the Lebanese parliament last month called the plan "a total failure," and Lebanon's Interior Minister Mohammad Machnouk, who belongs to a political bloc opposed to Hezbollah, agreed, telling reporters in October the crackdown was nothing more than "empty promises." A police spokesman said the country's security forces are preparing a new plan.

The Bekaa is the backyard, training camp and birthplace of Hezbollah, which was formed more than three decades ago by Iran's Revolutionary Guards Corps. The only building in a vast field of chest-high hashish plants near the Bekaa village of Taraya is a small green and white mosque. The square structure, which stands alone at a crossroads, flies the yellow and green flag of Hezbollah and black banners bearing religious rallying cries.

Hezbollah and the prominent Shiite drug trading clans here are mostly bound by mutual self-interest. Both offer some protection for the other: The clans have recently helped to secure Hezbollah supply lines to its forces fighting in Syria, while the group allegedly provides political cover to top clan members during occasional law enforcement crackdowns near their turf.

Several of the area's most prominent traffickers downplayed the role that the Captagon trade plays in fueling the war in Syria. When asked, most cited the drug's rock-bottom wholesale price, the high cost of black-market military hardware and a massive influx of foreign money as reasons why the profits from even large sales

of the low-cost narcotic would not greatly influence the war's course.

Abu Hussein and his family have made their fortune by growing and selling hashish in this part of the country for decades, as well as moving shipments of cocaine. Captagon is so cheap and easy to produce, he says, that the Gulf's insatiable appetite for the drug made getting in on the action several years ago an obvious business decision. Chinese-made pill presses sell for anywhere from \$700 to \$2,000 here, and the chemicals used in production are similarly inexpensive and easy to acquire, mostly by way of smuggling routes from Turkey.

Captagon is one of the cheapest narcotics available in the Middle East. The small, eastern town of Baalbek, famed for its Roman ruins and decades of virtual lawlessness, has numerous small labs. There, one pill goes for \$1 to \$2 on the street. In Beirut, the average going rate is \$10 apiece. Some Lebanese cocaine dealers admit that they sometimes cut their product with Captagon because it's so inexpensive and readily accessible. The United Nations's Office on Drugs

"THE BEKAA IS BASICALLY A TRIBAL LAND, RULED BY CLANS WHO ARE HEAVILY ARMED AND OFTEN INVOLVED IN THE DRUG TRADE."

and Crime reports that Saudi Arabia's drug of choice is amphetamines—usually some form of Captagon. According to UNODC figures, nearly 40 percent of the world's amphetamine seizures were made in the Middle East in 2009. Over half of those occurred in Saudi Arabia, where drug charges are often punishable by death.

"It's a garbage drug, but it's inexpensive," says Marwan, a 31-year-old IT specialist from the Bekaa who says he uses Captagon several times per week. "We can only afford cocaine for special occasions."

Despite the attention that the Saudi prince's arrest has brought to drug smuggling in the region, Abu Hussein says he's not concerned about a crackdown on producers and dealers. "The army will issue threats, and the police will stay away, as always," he says. "Once a year they arrest a few of our cousins, and there are no charges. There is no Lebanese state." ■



From C to Shining C

BACON AND RED MEAT ARE CARCINOGENIC, BUT SO IS THE AIR YOU BREATHE

When the World Health Organization officially designated processed meats a definite (Group 1) carcinogen in October, the meat lobby hit back immediately. The International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC), an arm of the WHO, has evaluated many hundreds of agents for cancer risk, yet found “only one substance, a chemical in yoga pants,” to probably *not* cause cancer, said Betsy Booren, of the North American Meat Institute, in a statement.

The notion that “everything gives you cancer” is, ironically, a

welcome palliative; inevitability is liberating. Keep eating your bacon, drinking your wine, smoking your cigarette and sunbathing (all Group 1 carcinogens). After all, the very air we breathe might be giving us cancer (outdoor air pollution: Group 1 carcinogen).

In fact, the IARC has evaluated 985 agents and found only one to definitely not have the potential to give you cancer (the “yoga pants” chemical; an agent used in synthetic fibers like nylon). Of these, it has designated 504 agents as “not classifiable,” due to inadequate evidence.

The other 481 have been categorized into three groups: “possibly carcinogenic to humans,” “probably carcinogenic to humans” and “definitely carcinogenic to humans,” which is where our dear bacon and sausage have fallen. While it may be tempting to scoff at a system that puts tobacco and asbestos in the same category as bacon, the IARC isn’t suggesting equivalence. That top-level category is simply reserved for agents where the cancer risk has become clear-cut. Tobacco and asbestos are still far more dangerous, in terms of cancer risk, than

the occasional sausage patty. Smoking a pack a day over a lifetime raises one’s risk of lung cancer 50-fold, while “worst-case scenarios in relation to processed meat or red meat rarely reach more than twofold,” Bernard Stewart, chair of the IARC’s working group on meat, said in an explainer. Still, we’ll be sure to hear groans when the IARC makes its next set of announcements: After designating it “possibly carcinogenic” in 1991, coffee is back on the list for next year’s evaluation.

BY
ZOE SCHLANGER
@zoeschlanger

SOURCE: WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

THE KREMLIN KNOWS WHAT YOU LIKE

Putin's Internet clampdown is putting Russians in jail and may sink the economy

WHEN YEKATERINA Vologzheninova, a shop assistant from central Russia, shared around half a dozen links about the war in eastern Ukraine with her online friends, she was expecting nothing more than a few heated arguments, at the most.

But her 52 friends on VKontakte, the Facebook of the Russian-speaking world, weren't the only ones following her posts, which included links to Ukrainian-produced documentaries and TV shows critical of the Kremlin. Officers from the Investigative Committee, an FBI-style law enforcement agency answerable only to President Vladimir Putin, were also tracking her online.

In December 2014, Investigative Committee officers, accompanied by agents from the Federal Security Service (FSB), the successor agency to the KGB, raided Vologzheninova's modest apartment in Yekaterinburg, some 900 miles east of Moscow. They seized her computer and digital camera, as well as her 12-year-old daughter's new tablet. They also informed a shocked Vologzheninova that she was being charged with "inciting hatred" of Russian "volunteers" fighting in Ukraine, as well as of Russian authorities.

Vologzheninova, who has never been abroad and has around \$1,000 in savings, was also placed on a federal list of "terrorists and extremists" that includes the Islamic State (ISIS) and Al-Qaeda, and her bank account and credit cards have been frozen. Asked about the case, a spokeswoman for the regional prosecutor said posting links to "extremist" material was a criminal offense. Her trial started in October, behind closed doors, and



Vologzheninova faces up to four years in jail.

"I was simply looking for some alternative views to Russian state-run media's one-sided coverage of the conflict in Ukraine. Nothing that I linked to had previously been classified as extremist by the Russian authorities," Vologzheninova tells

BY
MARC BENNETTS
@marcbennetts1

Newsweek. “And my online page was set to private, which means only my friends could see the links.”

Opposition bloggers say such persecution is part of a bid to silence Russia’s vibrant online community. “Cases like Vologzheninova’s are intended to frighten others,” says Andrei Malgin, one of Russia’s most influential opposition bloggers. “It’s entirely random, like a lottery. Any one of us could pull the short straw at any moment.”

When Putin came to power in 1999, around 1 million Russians were online. Within just over a decade, that figure grew more than fiftyfold. Putin is not an Internet user, and until very recently he was dismissive of the medium, calling it “50 percent porn.” Although he clamped down hard on media freedoms from the very first days of his rule, Putin and his Kremlin advisers paid little attention to online dissent. With total control over national TV, still the main source of news for most Russians, there seemed to be little need.

As high-speed Internet became widespread, opposition activists used online tools such as Twitter and YouTube to highlight Russia’s ingrained culture of corruption, as well as to attract attention to a range of causes, most notably a campaign to defend ancient woodland near Moscow from a Kremlin-backed highway project. These Internet activists were mockingly dubbed “hamsters from social networks” by government officials, but the growing power of Russia’s digital dissidents became evident in the December 2011 parliamentary elections, when online videos of blatant vote-rigging in favor of Putin’s United Russia party brought tens of thousands of protesters onto the streets. “I am an Internet hamster, and I will gnaw through the throats of those swine!” screamed blogger Alexei Navalny, as online anger transformed into offline fury.

Stung by what Putin said was a U.S.-backed plot to topple him, the Kremlin struck back. “Putin saw the Internet was capable of mobilizing massive amounts of discontented people in a short time,” says Malgin, the opposition blogger. “He realized that it wasn’t enough just to seize control of all media outlets—he had to control the Internet as well.” Since the protests of 2011-2012, Putin has approved a swath of laws that have made online dissent more dangerous. Criminal charges against “extremist” bloggers and Internet users have become commonplace. Opposition websites, including that of chess champion and Kremlin critic Garry Kasparov, have been blocked. Thousands of government-financed Internet “trolls” are employed to produce online praise of Putin and pen hate-filled posts against his enemies. In late October, the U.S.-based democracy watchdog Freedom House downgraded its rating

on Russia’s Internet to “Not Free” in 2015 from “Partly Free” in 2014.

And the laws keep coming. Under vaguely worded proposed legislation that could be approved by the Kremlin this month, the FSB will gain the power to summon for “precautionary discussions” those whose behavior—online or offline—suggests they may be likely to commit an “extremist” act. For Vologzheninova, laws such as this are an absurdity. “Russian state television is itself extremist,” she says. “Its broadcasts have provoked a wave of hatred against Ukrainians.”

The Kremlin has also moved against foreign social networks. A law due to come into force January 1 will force tech firms to store data they hold on Russian users within the country. Those that fail to comply could be blocked. Reports suggest Facebook, with around 13 million Russian users,

“I AM AN INTERNET HAMSTER, AND I WILL GNAW THROUGH THE THROATS OF THOSE SWINE!”

will refuse. Putin also appears to be looking for an Internet “off switch” in the event of mass protests. In October, an industry insider claimed Russia’s Internet regulator, Roskomnadzor, had experimented with ways of isolating the country from the Web. Roskomnadzor denied the report. Later that month, Russia’s communications minister, Nikolai Nikiforov, flew to Tehran. The official reason for Nikiforov’s trip was to discuss the opening of an office by Yandex, the Internet company that runs Russia’s biggest online search engine. But Yandex subsequently announced it had no plans to develop its business in Iran, fueling speculation that the real reason for Nikiforov’s trip was to find out more about Iranian Internet censorship.

“Putin dreams of a sovereign Internet,” said Malgin. “But just as soon as Russia is disconnected from the global Internet, everything—industry, science, transport—will cease to function. By halting the spread of undesirable opinions, he will kill off Russia’s economy for good.”

One thing that won’t be stopped, according to Oleg Kozyrev, another blogger, is opposition to Putin. “Russians stopped the [KGB-backed] coup in 1991 without the Internet,” he says. “You can’t prevent people from communicating.” ■

BIG BROTHER: For years Vladimir Putin contented himself with controlling national TV in Russia. Now the Kremlin is also trying to control the Internet.

DING YUAN/XINHUA/EYEVINE/REDUX



YES, WE CAN MAKE THIS WORSE

Online testimonies survivors gave to a British inquiry into child abuse were mysteriously deleted

INVESTIGATORS probing thousands of allegations of child sexual abuse in the United Kingdom set up a website this past summer to gather evidence. They invited survivors to share their stories with the independent inquiry through what was promised to be a secure and confidential portal.

Many survivors did so. But somehow nearly three weeks of submissions were mysteriously deleted, “instantly and permanently,” in what a notice on the site in October said was due to “a change in our website address.”

That message caused survivors, support groups and members of the British Parliament to question whether the survivors’ data was being handled with the utmost care, with attention to privacy and security—not to mention why there wasn’t some kind of data backup. The inquiry’s request for people to resubmit their stories was met with skepticism.

“It is a known fact that it takes survivors of child abuse 20, 30, 40 years to recover or to report it,” says abuse survivor Andrew Kershaw. “They have to trust, and unfortunately many of them will never trust, never tell anyone what happened to them, and take it to their grave. So their information being lost has done irreparable damage, has taken away their trust once more. Many won’t come forward again.”

In July, when New Zealand Judge Lowell Goddard launched what she called “the largest and most ambitious public inquiry ever estab-

lished” into decades of sexual abuse allegations throughout England and Wales, she issued a stern warning to the U.K. government: no shredding or “premature destruction of files or records that later become required as evidence.”

This loss of key documents has been a hallmark of the U.K.’s recent focus on apprehending accused child abusers in high-ranking positions of government and public life. The push came after authorities said BBC celebrity Jimmy Savile, who died in 2011, had abused up to 1,000 children over four decades. More recently, the Home Office came under fire after it “lost or destroyed” more than 100 files tied to claims of child sex abuse by, among others, prominent members of the U.K. government, according to the findings of a separate inquiry in 2014. *Newsweek* has also learned that many Home Office papers are missing from the U.K.’s National Archives that should have been declassified more than a decade ago.

And then, on October 15, the inquiry’s website quietly posted the notice stating that all survivor submissions made from September 14 to October 2 had been deleted. Officials at the inquiry indicated they had no way of knowing how many submissions were lost, as the team never received them. “We have confirmed that the information cannot be recovered,” inquiry spokeswoman Natalie Davison says. “The data are intentionally not saved at the website when the form is submitted,



BY
**LEAH MCGRATH
GOODMAN**
[@truth_eater](#)

in line with good security practice.”

Sarah Champion, a member of Parliament for Rotherham, a town that authorities recently found was plagued for years by organized child sexual abuse, sent a letter to Goddard asking why there was no backup system in place. “Furthermore, it is of some concern that such a significant failure of IT systems went unnoticed for almost three weeks,” she wrote in the letter. Champion is the U.K.’s shadow minister for preventing abuse and domestic violence.

Goddard to date has made no public comment, but a statement posted to the inquiry’s website in late October explained that new measures are now in place to ensure testimony will be sent to a “secure inquiry mailbox,” with limits on who can see it, and submissions will be checked daily. “We believe we now have all the necessary measures in place to ensure this will not happen again,” it said.

Goddard, in her opening remarks to the inquiry this past summer, assured survivors that

she would go to great lengths to win their confidence, offering private sessions to report abuse, with counselors, translators and assistance for the disabled. “The experiences of victims and survivors will be the core currency of the inquiry,” she said, adding that the “sheer scale”

“THE CASUAL AND UN-PROFESSIONAL WAY WITH WHICH THIS SITE WAS PUT TOGETHER REALLY DOES BEGGAR BELIEF.”

LOOKING AHEAD: Lucy, now in her mid-20s, was abused from the age of 12 in the town of Rotherham. An independent report found at least 1,400 children were abused there over a 16-year period.

+

of the problem was overwhelming and citing an estimate that 1 in 20 children in the U.K. was likely to have been abused.

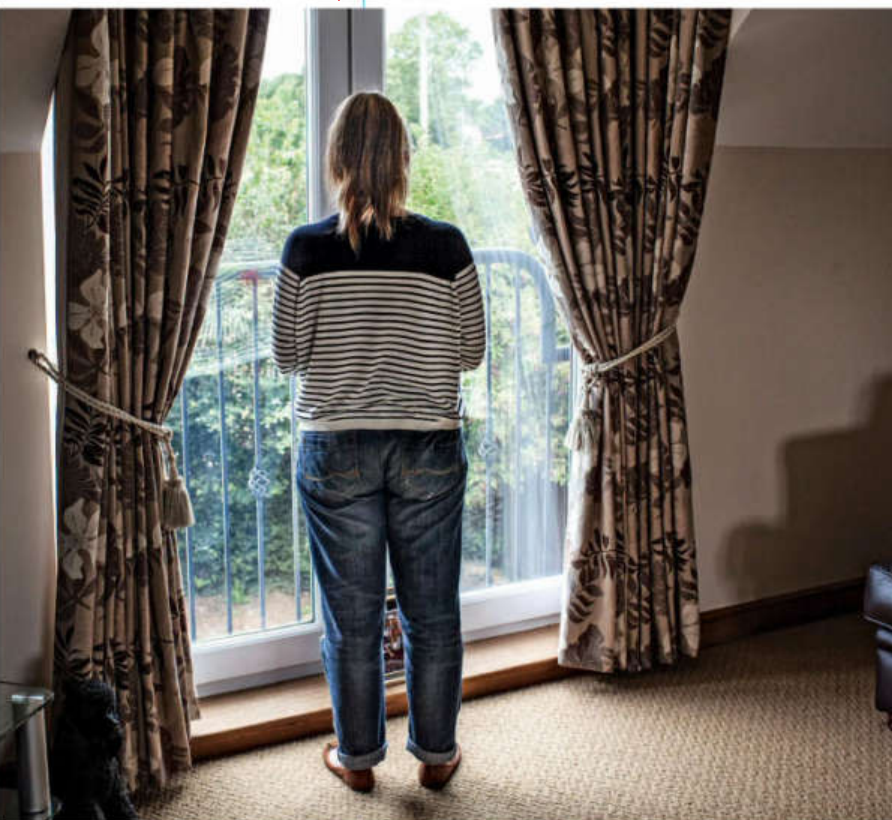
Phil Frampton, an abuse survivor and national coordinator of White Flowers, an umbrella organization for survivors’ groups, says the task may be enormous but survivors must be treated with more compassion. “The Goddard inquiry needs to rapidly get its act together if it is to maintain any trust amongst survivors,” he says.

After inspecting the inquiry’s website for *Newsweek*, Phil Mair, an independent IT specialist who has worked on secure websites for the U.K. government and the Metropolitan Police Service, says he remains deeply concerned about its security. Because the inquiry’s site was built using Drupal, a free software commonly used for personal websites, he says the information that the site gathers is vulnerable to being intercepted and even redirected.

“I would call this site highly amateurish,” he says. “It’s staggering, to be honest. Considering the extreme sensitivity of the information it is handling, the casual and unprofessional way with which this site was put together really does beggar belief.”

A professionally designed and secure site, he says, would have cost the inquiry from 3,000 to 6,000 pounds (\$4,600 to \$9,200). The inquiry’s budget for the 2015-2016 fiscal year is 17.9 million pounds (\$28 million).

According to officials at the inquiry, John O’Brien, a senior civil servant with the Home Office and head secretariat for the inquiry, is the person leading its in-house technology team. Despite emails, calls and a visit to his offices, O’Brien did not respond to requests for comment from *Newsweek*. ■




Names in the News

UP, DOWN AND SIDEWAYS


 @WisdomWatch



FIGHTING ISIS

 Just two years after he promised he wouldn't put "American boots on the ground in Syria," President Barack Obama does. White House spokesman insists U.S. troops will be there only to "train, advise and assist.... It will not be their responsibility to lead the charge up the hill." That's Putin's job.

STARFISH

 Starfish on West Coast on suicide watch because they are pulling off their arms, essentially devouring themselves. In related news, elephants were seen pulling off their ears during last Republican debate.



SANDBAR HOPPING

 China makes warlike noises after U.S. naval vessel sails near islands China constructed in busy shipping lane. U.S. claims it was merely looking to sink the Huey Lewis oldies tour ship.




RED HERRING PLANET

 Scientists say planet they so gleefully "discovered" in 2012 isn't really there. Apparently, Alpha Centauri Bb, thought to be in star system nearest to Earth, was merely ghost in data. Khan!



BUBBLES

 Biotech darling Theranos faces doubts about its blood-testing technology. Founder Elizabeth Holmes—who does a remarkable Steve Jobs impression—is reportedly already working on her NeXT project.



FISH STORY

 Your "wild salmon" might not be. International nonprofit Oceana finds that a little over 40 percent of all salmon sold as "wild" is actually farm-raised. Sounds like a classic "switch and eat bait" tactic.





SAVE UP TO 75%

WITH A TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

- ✓ WEEKLY MAGAZINE ✓ INCLUDES DELIVERY
- ✓ DAILY NEWSLETTER ✓ UNLIMITED WEB ACCESS
- ✓ IPAD / IPHONE APP ACCESS

Visit Newsweek.com/subscribe



DISBANDED

MANY OF THE FOREIGNERS WHO FOUGHT IN THE

AND NEITHER THEIR GOVERNMENTS NOR THEIR



BY MIRREN GIDDA

BROTHERS

BRUTAL UKRAINIAN CIVIL WAR ARE HOME NOW,

FAMILIES KNOW QUITE WHAT TO DO WITH THEM.

ON THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY 27, A 28-YEAR-OLD SPANIARD NAMED SERGIO BECERRA VASQUEZ WAS JUST STARTING TO GET DRESSED WHEN HE HEARD A LOUD BANGING ON THE FRONT DOOR OF HIS HOUSE IN THE VALLECAS NEIGHBORHOOD OF MADRID.

Almost in the same moment, he heard male voices on the street: “Police! Open up! Open up!” Vasquez was terrified and did nothing, but the men would not go away. He put the safety chain on his door, opened it slightly and peered through. Seven men in civilian clothes stood outside. One asked if they could enter. “I want to see some ID,” Vasquez said. The men obliged. The badges showed them to be Spanish counterterrorism police. Vasquez unhooked the chain.

The officers came in and told Vasquez he was under arrest. He was charged, they said, with possessing arms and explosives, complicity in murders and assassinations, and influencing the neutrality of Spain. The police led away Vasquez in handcuffs and drove him to the General Information Office, a unit of the National Police that deals with counterterrorism. There, he was placed in a row of chairs next to two friends of his. “Don’t speak to each other. Don’t even look at each other,” an officer told them. They sat in silence until an officer took Vasquez into a separate room, where he was interrogated for over

WHO’S YOUR BADDY? Vasquez, below (far left) fought for the rebels and considered it a moral duty, while Garrett, just looking for action, was in the Azov Battalion, right, aligned with Ukraine.

three hours. “Where are the arms?” his inquisitor demanded. “How many people have you killed?” A lawyer arrived to witness his deposition, and then the lawyer and four police officers took Vasquez back to his home to search the premises.

When they arrived, a crowd of journalists were waiting in the street; they had heard that the police had arrested eight men for participating in a foreign conflict. But Vasquez and the seven other suspects were not the sort of foreign fighters Europeans are accustomed to seeing counterterrorism police lead away in handcuffs. The men had not returned from Syria or Iraq but from a war within Europe—in Ukraine. They had traveled to join the separatist rebels on the battlefields of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions in eastern Ukraine in what they considered selfless acts of conscience. Vasquez believed himself to be fulfilling the same obligation as the foreigners who decades earlier made the



journey to Spain to fight against the fascist forces in the Spanish Civil War. Now his government was accusing him of serious crimes. Vasquez believes he was caught after pro-Kremlin Russian media, which support the rebels, featured him and others to show that despite the European Union opposing the separatists, EU citizens were fighting for them. Not that the press are solely to blame: During their time in Ukraine, Vasquez and his comrades posted a number of photos on social media, which Spain’s



interior ministry later used as evidence.

The police didn't find anything of note in Vasquez's house, but they bagged up his phone, some of his military uniforms and other souvenirs from the war. Unable to secure a warrant to detain him further, the officers drove him back to their headquarters and officially released him. Soon after, Vasquez received a letter summoning him to Spain's National Court, where a judge questioned him. Seven months later, Vasquez hasn't heard any more from the police. He doesn't know where his case stands, but he suspects the investigation is ongoing.

If Vasquez is confused about how his government sees him, that's largely because Europe's judicial and political bodies seem largely at a loss for what to do about the estimated 600 foreigners, excluding Russians, who have fought on both sides of the war in Ukraine. Most European governments have spent considerable time and resources on addressing citizens who have come back from fighting with jihadi groups in Syria and Iraq—policies vary from assertive prosecution to more liberal rehabilitation programs—but few, if any, countries appear to have clear policies on how to deal with the Ukrainian war's foreign fighters. To date, Spain is the only Western European country to have arrested people

THEIR EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE, TRAUMA AND THE MURDEROUS LAWLESSNESS OF A BRUTAL CIVIL WAR IS CONTRIBUTING TO THE FRACTURING OF FAMILIES AND SOCIAL BONDS.

for fighting in the Ukrainian conflict. Across Europe, these men, who may have killed and seen terrible violence, generally just buy a seat on a flight home, pass through immigration without questioning and slot back into their communities.

FOREIGNER FIGHT CLUB

EXPERTS AND historians agree that ignoring these foreign combatants and hoping they'll quietly reintegrate is a high-risk approach. While these men generally lack the animus toward their own governments that some returnees from conflicts in Syria and Iraq may hold, their exposure to violence, trauma and the murderous lawlessness of a brutal civil war is



“TO THE EXTENT THAT FOREIGN FIGHTERS ARE ISOLATED FROM SOCIETY, THEY BECOME MORE DANGEROUS.”

contributing to the fracturing of families and social bonds and untreated mental health problems. “To the extent that foreign fighters are isolated from society, they become more dangerous,” says Jeremy Shapiro, fellow in the Project on International Order and Strategy and the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution, a public policy organization in Washington, D.C.

The varied backgrounds, motivations and experiences of these men—the foreign fighters in Ukraine are overwhelmingly male—pose a challenge to governments trying to formulate a centralized approach. Those in Ukraine are neither terrorists nor mercenaries nor humanitarian volunteers. They also have no clear, shared ideology. They come from a range of countries, backgrounds and professions, and they are helping both sides in the conflict. Their political views range from the far left to the extreme right. In eastern Ukraine, some foreign communists—like Vasquez—are fighting on the side of the pro-Russian rebels. In direct contrast to the prevailing view in Europe and beyond, they see Ukraine, not Russia,

as a fascist aggressor. Meanwhile, some neo-Nazis from EU countries have joined the Ukrainian army, which the EU and the United States support. And some foreign volunteers don’t have any interest in politics at all; they just want to fight in a war.

But the war may have run its course. Since September 1, Ukrainian government forces and pro-Russian rebels have largely been observing a cease-fire, prompting some to down their weapons and declare the conflict over. As the Ukrainian fighters return to their towns and families, so too are many of Europe’s foreign combatants heading back to theirs. For Vasquez and others, that homecoming has been hard.

‘SWASTIKAS ON THE WALLS’

CHRIS GARRETT, a 31-year-old British tree surgeon, knows what it’s like to shoot a man dead. He also knows what it’s like to then sail through immigration without question. And he knows how much damage the choice to fight in someone else’s war can do to one’s mental health and the relationships one cherishes the most.

Garrett fought alongside the Ukrainian army from October 2014 to April 2015. Unlike Vasquez, Garrett didn’t participate in the conflict because of his political ideals. His dream since the age of 12, when he first joined the Army Cadet Force—a voluntary youth organization set up by the British army and Ministry of Defense—was to be a soldier. At 16, he left school



LAST SHOT? Garrett, who says he always wanted to be a soldier but missed his chance with the British Army, volunteered for a rebel group in Myanmar before serving as a marksman for the Azov Battalion.

+



and enrolled in Britain's Army Foundation College, which trains 16- and 17-year-olds to become future soldiers. While at the college, he suffered a serious physical attack, details of which Garrett prefers not to discuss. The assault prompted him to cut short his service and return home. He never achieved his goal of becoming a soldier. On December 29, 2003, Garrett attempted to rob a gas station and was subsequently convicted and imprisoned for 19 months. His criminal record ruined his chances of joining the British army or of getting private security work. An injury that shattered his left heel ruled out the French Foreign Legion—the French army's legendary force made up of foreign nationals.

In 2008, he made his way to the border of Thailand and Myanmar to join the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA), a rebel group whose goal is to establish an autonomous state in Myanmar for the ethnic Karen people. Garrett bounced between his home on Britain's Isle of Man and Myanmar. He assisted with training, rebuilding projects and land mine clearance, but fighting wasn't an option. Then, in August 2014, a friend in Ukraine, whom he had met online, suggested that he join the battalions there. "When I realized everything in Ukraine had kicked off," Garrett says, "I thought, I'm in the right mindset; I might as well go." He didn't expect to be involved in fighting, but Garrett did think he could help with removing munitions.

His Ukrainian friend was doing paperwork for the Azov Battalion, a volunteer group fighting alongside the Ukrainian army. Some of the battalion's members have far-right or neo-Nazi connections; its logo bears a striking resemblance to the *Wolfsangel*, a heraldic symbol often used by the Nazis. Garrett had known of the group's reputation but thought he should find out for himself if it was deserved. "When I got into Azov's place in Kiev, it was kind of like walking into a rundown boarding school," he recalls. "There were

swastikas on the walls, and you could stereotype the people as right-wing nationalists.” Garrett says he is not right-wing or a Nazi sympathizer. Politically, he says, he doesn’t really know where he stands.

His duties in the battalion changed constantly. After a week and a half in Kiev, he moved to a training base near the eastern port city of Mariupol. There, along with a fluctuating group of foreigners, he trained in basic military maneuvers for four weeks. Once that was over, Garrett participated in reconnaissance missions and largely served as a marksman and bomb disposal technician for the team of foreigners.

Garrett finally experienced the full brutality of war on February 13. The events of that day and the fighting that followed traumatized him and convinced him that it was time to leave eastern Ukraine. At dawn, almost the entire Azov Battalion, around 250 to 300 people, moved into the village of Shyrokyne in a bid to clear it of separatists. The militia members’ instructions, Garrett says, “were to hold Shyrokyne to the last man.” Ordered to provide sniper support, Garrett waited in a house facing enemy lines. At 5:30 a.m., he heard an enemy tank nearby. Then the shelling began. For 30 minutes, tank shells and rockets battered the front two rows of houses of the part of the city the battalion was holding. Some of the shells hit the house where Garrett was stationed. He ran down to the basement to take cover, but the attack continued, so he ran outside.

The Ukrainian forces decided to pull back and create a new defensive line. With eight other men, Garrett hid behind another house. All of a sudden,

an enemy tank rumbled around the corner, coming within 50 feet of the men. “I just froze,” Garrett says. In the pandemonium that ensued, his fellow soldiers abandoned him, scrambling to get away from the advancing rebels. Desperately needing shelter, Garrett ran for a nearby house, but as he turned the corner he ran into a separatist. Garrett didn’t hesitate; raising his rifle, he shot the man at point-blank range. Otherwise, he says, “he was going to shoot me.” It was the first and only time Garrett is sure that he killed someone. But given his involvement in other firefights, he expects his total body count is higher. Garrett, along with another Ukrainian soldier, eventually made it back to safety, reaching the Ukrainian forces in the early hours of February 15.

THE COST OF KILLING

IN MID-APRIL, exhausted, Garrett left Ukraine. “I needed a break,” he says. “And I felt if I didn’t come home, my relationship [with my girlfriend] would be destroyed.” Unlike Vasquez, there was no dramatic arrest awaiting Garrett. Before he returned, he says, he tried to contact Britain’s Home Office and the country’s two main intelligence agencies—MI5 and MI6—wanting to know where he stood. But, he says, they didn’t reply, and he has heard nothing from them since his return. Citing security reasons, the U.K. Home Office, which also represents MI5, and the U.K. Foreign Office, which represents MI6, declined to comment as to whether Garrett’s claims that he reached out to them are true. A Home Office official tells *Newsweek* only that foreign fighters returning from Ukraine are assessed individually, depending on what they did there.

A different situation awaits those returning from Syria—governments closely monitor these individuals. “If we’re only looking at the Islamist radicals and not those coming back from Ukraine, we might be missing something,” says Kacper Rekawek, an analyst at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. The wars in the former Yugoslavia offer numerous examples of how disruptive foreign fighters can be when they come home. One returnee, a Swedish-Liberian man named Jackie Arklöv, went on to be convicted for the killing of two policemen in a bank robbery. Bolivian police



THE HOME FRONT: Volunteers on both sides of the Ukraine conflict don’t draw the same attention governments give fighters returning from the Syrian conflict, but many of them are being monitored, and some have been arrested.

+

shot a second, Hungarian-Bolivian Eduardo Rózsa-Flores, whom they suspected of being part of a terrorist group plotting to assassinate President Evo Morales.

Garrett hasn't had any run-ins with the law since his return. But, he says, "Ukraine has definitely left a mark on me." When he returned to the U.K., a doctor diagnosed him with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and he says he feels isolated. "There is no one to talk to about it. No one can relate," he says. While he has support from friends who are ex-military, his other friends don't agree with his decision to fight in a foreign war.

Garrett's girlfriend, who asked that her name not be published, struggled with her partner's return. It was early in their relationship that Garrett announced he was going to Ukraine. She opposed the idea, even more so when she found out which group he had joined. "I personally don't understand why you would choose to affiliate yourself with a battalion like Azov," she says. While Garrett was away, she retreated into herself; family and friends condemned her new boyfriend's actions and said they had lost respect for her. "I find it hard to justify why I stayed with him," she says. "Like it or not, I do love him, and I do see the good in him, even if I think he has been more than a little misguided in this instance."

When Garrett first returned, she wasn't able to discuss what he had done. He was struggling with PTSD and was withdrawn and difficult, she says. "I tried to be there emotionally," she says, "but it is draining." The couple is now preparing to set up a small organic farm, and she is studying for a degree in international development. Though things are better, she says her relationship with family and friends has been damaged; her mother still won't speak to Garrett, so vehemently does she disagree with his going to Ukraine.

As for Vasquez, when he returned to Spain the day before Christmas Eve, he found that adjusting to normal life, away from the frenzy of war, wasn't easy. He moved back into his grandmother's former home, a sparsely furnished three-bedroom apartment. Fireworks that marked Madrid's Christmas celebrations made him think he was back in eastern Ukraine. When he walked the streets of the city, he still feared an enemy soldier might shoot him. "I didn't have anything when I came back. I didn't have a job. I couldn't get unemployment benefit. I had to live with my siblings." Suffering with feelings of isolation, Vasquez says he felt "angry with everything and nothing." The counterterrorism police arrested



"IF WE'RE ONLY LOOKING AT THE ISLAMIST RADICALS AND NOT THOSE COMING BACK FROM UKRAINE, WE MIGHT BE MISSING SOMETHING."

Vasquez two months after his return. Following their visit, unable to find work and facing mounting financial problems, he uploaded his résumé to a couple of EU-wide job sites. In August, he received a call offering him a job painting cars in Belgium, which is why he now lives alone in an apartment in Ghent.

Neither Vasquez nor Garrett intend to remain in Europe. For the sake of his relationship, Garrett isn't planning on returning to Ukraine, but he says he will travel to Myanmar sometime next year and help the KNLA with rebuilding projects and removal of explosive devices. Vasquez has a different reason for not going back to Ukraine: He doesn't want to be sent to prison. Spanish law forbids its citizens from engaging in conflicts that might influence the neutrality of Spain. The punishment for this, according to the Spanish penal code, is a prison term of four to eight years if convicted. If he returns to Ukraine, Vasquez is convinced he'll be locked up the moment he sets foot in Spain. "You can annoy the state once," he says, "but not twice. Can you imagine what would happen [if I went to Ukraine] a second time?"

But if he weren't from the one Western European country that has arrested citizens coming home from the war in Ukraine, would he want to go back to the battlefield? Vasquez doesn't hesitate: "Of course." ■

**HIS FRIENDS KNOW
BEN CARSON AS
A BRILLIANT SURGEON
AND A GENEROUS MAN.
SO WHY DOES THE
SURGING REPUBLICAN
CANDIDATE SAY
SO MANY CRAZY,
INFLAMMATORY THINGS?**



DR. CARSON AND MR. HYDE





BY EMILY CADEI

“Now it’s not my intention to offend anyone,”

renowned neurosurgeon Ben Carson told a crowd of dignitaries assembled at the Washington Hilton Hotel in 2013. A devout Christian, Carson is surely aware of the proverb about good intentions and the road to hell. He was speaking at the National Prayer Breakfast, an annual affair that’s usually the opposite of edgy—a brief bit of bonhomie (contrived at times) when D.C. puts aside the feuding, at least until the orange juice and coffee have been cleared.

With that opener, it’s not surprising Carson’s 27-minute speech prompted hosannas as well as head scratching. Most of his remarks focused on his remarkable life story, rising from a Detroit ghetto to become one of the world’s most celebrated neurosurgeons. But conservative commentators glommed on to his rant against Obamacare, which came with the president of the United States seated just a few feet from Carson.

Carson also took shots at what he called the politically correct media for “crucifying people who say things really quite innocently.” He declared the country is in a death spiral like the one that preceded the collapse of the Roman Empire: “Moral decay, fiscal irresponsibility. They destroyed themselves. If you don’t think that can happen to America, you get out your books and you start reading.”

“Ben Carson for President,” blared the headline of a *Wall Street Journal* editorial later that week.

Two and a half years later, Carson is running for president and doing very well, a political outsider as laid-back as real estate mogul Donald Trump is in your face. Despite their stylistic differences, Carson and Trump are blazing much the same insurgent path in the GOP primary. After creeping up behind Trump in national polls this fall, Carson has now pulled even or surged ahead in two of the latest surveys, and is leading several polls in Iowa. The doctor’s surge has been as stunning as it has been stealthy. As Trump’s shock-and-awe campaign transfixes the media and the chattering classes, the mild-mannered Marylander, 64, has been quietly building support among conservative voters with his unorthodox and decidedly un-PC appeal.

The retired director of pediatric neurosurgery at Johns Hopkins Hospital has expressed regret for some of the jaw-dropping things he’s said—like suggesting serving time in prison can make you gay. But he’s stood by other comments: arguing that a Muslim president would feel compelled to obey Sharia (Islamic law), not American law; suggesting that the Nazis wouldn’t have been able to carry out the Holocaust if German Jews had been armed; or equating abortion and slavery.

Those comments have drawn national headlines and a heated backlash. But even more than outrage, Carson’s campaign has provoked bewilderment: How can someone who has such a sparkling scientific résumé make assertions that are so obviously lacking in evidence, the basic building block of scientific study? The gentle, even languid tone in which Carson delivers his controversial views only deepens the contradiction.

In the Victorian-era classic *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, a genial research

scientist consumes a potion that turns him into a beast. Longtime friends and colleagues of Carson’s witness a version of that when they see him on TV these days. “I happened to be watching *Meet the Press* when he said [he would not support a Muslim president], and my family was upset,” says Harold Doley, a prominent African-American Republican and personal friend of Carson’s. He urged them to “give Dr. Carson an opportunity to clarify and expand on his position,” which he did in a flurry of subsequent interviews, though he never fully retracted his initial statement. Doley insists Carson “is not opposed to people based on their religious beliefs.”

For those who knew him as a doctor and philanthropist, Carson’s new career as a politician has been disorienting. Associates of Trump have always known him as a showman, a tornado of hype. By contrast, friends of Carson say the image that’s emerged in the national media is not who he really is. It’s not that they were unaware that he was conservative and Christian, embracing a long tradition of self-reliance in the African-American community. These are values, his friends acknowledge, that he has unabashedly embraced since he was a young man beginning his medical career. Carson’s colleagues at Johns Hopkins, one of the nation’s pre-eminent medical schools, don’t squirm when he proclaims that the world was created in six days, per his Seventh-day Adventist faith, but they struggle mightily with the intolerant zealot being portrayed on cable news, whom they say does not resemble the man they worked with day in and day out for so many years. A man who, yes, was unwavering in his beliefs and unconventional in his

approach—but was always humble, constructive and, above all, respectful.

“In real life, he is the most unbiased person I’ve ever met,” says Dr. Henry Brem, director of the neurosurgery department at Johns Hopkins Hospital and a colleague of Carson’s since the 1980s. Brem and others say Carson has a knack for unifying and rallying people—an important skill for a president.

“To do innovative things and to break barriers and bring people together—and have everybody pulling in the same direction and get funding to do things—I do think is an extraordinary administrative skill,” says Brem. “How that translates [into running the country] is anybody’s speculation.” But Carson’s career success is based on far more than what went on in the operating room.

At the root of Carson’s worldview is his relationship with God. Carson has belonged to the Seventh-day Adventist Church since he was a Detroit teen with an explosive temper, and he credits Christ with helping him control his anger. The religion’s emphasis on living a moral, industrious life



THOUGH HIS TONE IS SOFT, CARSON HAS BLURTED OUT LINES THAT EVEN HE’S EXPRESSED REGRET ABOUT—LIKE SUGGESTING PRISON CAN MAKE YOU GAY.

AND ON THE SEVENTH DAY, HE ATTESTED: Carson credits his faith with not only guiding his life, but also with saving it.

and hewing to a fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible explain many of Carson's contradictions. Adventists are a Protestant denomination, and though they are not part of the evangelical movement, they share similar beliefs in terms of respecting biblical authority and conducting religious outreach. They are literalists about creation being a six-day affair. A recent survey by the Pew Research Center found that 60 percent of white evangelicals likewise reject evolution (as do 47 percent of black Protestants).

The Adventist church's world headquarters is just outside Washington,

CARSON WAS KNOWN FOR HIS COMFORTING BEDSIDE MANNER, HELPING EARN HIM THE NICKNAME "GENTLE BEN."



D.C., in Silver Spring, Maryland, which is also the home of a particularly bustling congregation—the Spencerville Seventh-day Adventist Church, which Carson and his family attend. On a recent Saturday morning, the sprawling stone church was overflowing. Despite the blustery weather outside, the main hall felt warm and welcoming, buzzing with a low, cheerful hum as worshippers milled about and families quietly filed into the nave, looking for empty seats in the pews. It felt much like any other Christian church service, except, of course, it was a Saturday, which is when Adventists mark the Sabbath.

Befitting its location in the diverse, middle-class suburb, Spencerville's congregation that Saturday was a mosaic of senior citizens, teenagers, infants, whites, blacks, South Asians and Latinos. The Seventh-day

+ LEST YE SMOCK:
Carson regularly brought his faith into the operating theater, praying with patients and his surgical teams.

RICKY CARLTON/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY

Adventist Church is the most racially diverse faith in the country, according to Pew, yet another reminder that Carson has been immersed in multicultural environments throughout his adult life. In the presidential race, however, he's playing almost exclusively to white evangelicals, a powerful force in GOP primaries, yes, but just a narrow slice of the general electorate. Even some of his supporters are frustrated by that, given his background and race. "There needs to be outreach to the African-American community," says Doley. "I've been trying to get that point across to the campaign, with very little to no success."

Carson has spent almost all of his adult life in Maryland working at Johns Hopkins, the medical school and hospital system located in majority-black Baltimore. Hopkins is where he rocketed from being a serious, young neurosurgery intern in the '80s (and the rare African-American surgeon at the time) to one of the leading pediatric neurosurgeons in the world, making a name for himself with groundbreaking surgeries such as separating Siamese twins, and rehabilitating children with rare, degenerative brain disorders. His memoir, *Gifted Hands*, was made into a 2009 TV movie starring Cuba Gooding Jr. It was followed by a slew of other, more politically minded books.

Carson's emphasis on personal integrity and responsibility has been a constant feature of his life, say those who know him well. Brem, a close friend, calls the 2013 prayer breakfast speech "a typical Ben speech." He recalls confrontational remarks Carson gave at an NAACP awards gala in 2006, where he was being recognized with the group's highest honor for achievement. After receiving the award, Carson "acknowledged that everything he achieved had been done on the shoulders of the civil rights movement." Then, as Brem describes it, he began to "dress down" all its leaders in the room, "saying, 'You're not doing enough. We need to help ourselves.'"

Conservatives have eaten that rhetoric up, embracing Carson as the ideal foil to President Barack Obama. Media baron Rupert Murdoch even suggested on Twitter last month that Carson would be "a real black president,"

something he later apologized for. Carson's own remarks in recent years likening Obamacare to slavery and claiming the president has hurt race relations in America have alienated many in the black community, who lionized the doctor's groundbreaking medical achievements and philanthropy. But it seems clear, looking back, that the underlying philosophy was always in Carson's work, if not expressed in such polarizing language. "Ever since I've known him, he has been strongly in favor of the individual, individual liberties, individual responsibilities to be the best they can be," says Dr. Donlin Long, chairman of the Johns Hopkins Department of Neurosurgery from 1973 to 2000 and a longtime mentor to Carson.

That applied to Carson's work in his community, a priority from the time he first arrived at Hopkins. In his interview for a slot in the neurosurgery residency program, Long recalls the young Carson, then a medical student at the University of Michigan, asking for assurances he could take time off to give talks to schoolchildren in inner-city Baltimore. He was "the only person to ever ask that in an interview," Long says, laughing.

"When I came to Hopkins, black doctors were extraordinarily rare, particularly in an academic setting," Carson tells *Newsweek*. "I realized that what I would be doing could be very inspirational to a lot of kids...who frequently had, as I did, many people telling you what you can't do and not enough people telling them what they can do."

So Carson became a proselytizer as well as a physician, taking his message of self-improvement to classrooms around Baltimore and, before long, to the entire country. "On weekends he went away, and the rest of us covered for him," Brem recalls. "And what he did was, he went into the inner city...every weekend, all over the country. He did that for years and years and years, and eventually that led to the Carson Scholars." Brem was one of the first board members for the charity, which gives scholarships to elementary and high school students around the U.S. to recognize academic excellence and community service.

Even as Carson worked to lift up inner-city children, he did not emphasize race or ethnicity. The Carson Scholars Fund, established in 1996, is open to any student in any participating school district. It's always been Carson's desire "to bring people together and not be divisive on race," explains Nancy Grasmick, the charity's interim president.

He's also rejected a focus on race in his life. When Carson was still a resident, Long recalls approaching his protégé about applying for a National Institutes of Health program for minority doctors. "It was a very nice amount of money that would support their careers and support some additional research," Long recounts. "And Ben said, 'Dr. Long, that's the only insulting thing you've ever said to me.'"

For many African-Americans, Carson's de-emphasis of skin color and his tendency to invoke slavery as a parallel for a variety of current political controversies—he has compared it to not just abortion but also to Obamacare—have soured them on the doctor. "Academically, he has always been a pillar within our community," says Jamal Bryant, the pastor at Baltimore's Empowerment Temple. "His work really is well-known and highly celebrated." Carson even got a shoutout in Season 4 of the iconic HBO series *The Wire*, when a grade school student in inner-city Baltimore tells his teacher, "I want to be a pediatric

"WHEN I CAME TO HOPKINS, BLACK DOCTORS WERE EXTRAORDINARILY RARE. I REALIZED THAT WHAT I WOULD BE DOING COULD BE VERY INSPIRATIONAL."

neurosurgeon like that one nigger.”

But Bryant, an outspoken civil rights activist, also criticizes Carson's silence on racial discrimination. “He has not spoken, really, to the injustices that we face right here in Maryland,” says Bryant, who gave the eulogy for Freddie Gray, the 25-year-old from Baltimore whose death in police custody this past spring sparked days of protests and riots. “Every schoolchild in the last 15 years or so has learned who Ben Carson is. That’s a natural constituency” for his presidential campaign, says Doley. “Unfortunately, another natural constituency, you might think, would be the African-American constituency. But it’s not there.”

Given Carson's academic background, one might think that intellectuals could be a political constituency as well. But many of his highly educated peers have struggled with his rejection of mainstream science, including the Big Bang theory and the overwhelming evidence of climate change. A recent piece in *The New Yorker*, titled “Ben Carson's Scientific Ignorance,” noted that in a 2012 speech, Carson “made statements...that suggest he never learned or chooses to ignore basic, well-tested scientific concepts.”

Here, too, Carson's contacts from his life before politics say none of this is new, and the political uproar has led to a caricature of the doctor. Academics, laments Long, have become “quite intolerant.” People have forgotten, he says, that “the whole basis of science is questioning the basis of scientific principles. That either generates the truth, such as they are at the time. Or it will generate strong criticism and perhaps stronger hypotheses.”

Dr. George Jallo, director of the Johns Hopkins All Children's Institute for Brain Protection Sciences, worked under Carson for a decade and considers him a mentor. Jallo tells *Newsweek* that Carson's religious beliefs made him respect the senior neurosurgeon more. “Here he is as a physician, he has a very good foundation of science and also is a religious man,” Jallo says. “His beliefs were thoughtful in the sense that he had a good understanding of both.” Carson's former colleagues aren't the only people in medicine who aren't bothered by his beliefs: Health professionals represented the largest

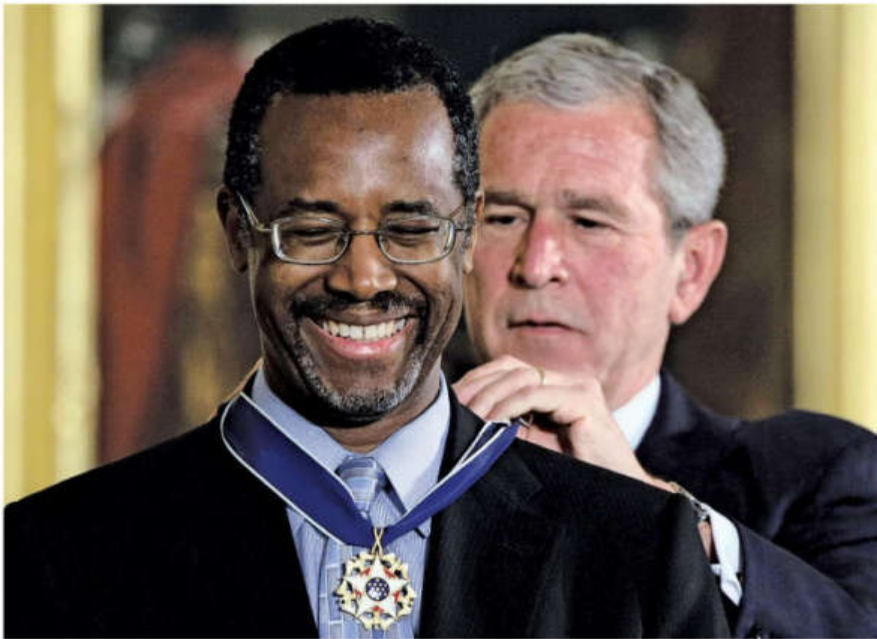
single group of professionals donating to his campaign thus far, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

Jallo says Carson was notably open, though not doctrinaire, about his religious faith. “He wasn't afraid to talk about it, and he respected others, so they respected him for that,” Jallo recalls. “He'd pray with them if they wanted to pray with him.” That's confirmed by one of Carson's patients, Beth Usher, who was just 7 when she underwent a risky operation to try to cure her chronic seizures. At that time, in the 1980s, Carson and his colleagues were the one team of doctors in the United States performing the procedure, known as a hemispherectomy, where the damaged part of the brain is permanently removed. The night before the surgery, Usher and her family, particularly her 9-year-old brother, were “petrified,” she tells *Newsweek*. Carson noticed and “took my brother down to the little hospital chapel and prayed with him for like an hour,” Usher recalls. “It was who he was,” says Jallo. “Religion made him who he was.”

Carson's longtime colleagues have a harder time making sense of some of the social views he has expressed on the campaign trail. The most recent furor was over remarks he made in the wake of a mass shooting at a community college in Oregon. Asked on Fox News what he would have done in the same situation, Carson replied, “I would not just stand there and let him shoot me. I would say, ‘Hey guys, everybody attack him.’” Media commentators promptly attacked him, saying he was criticizing the victims.

Then there was the aforementioned Muslim slight on NBC's *Meet the Press* this September. “I would not advocate that we put a Muslim in charge of this nation. I absolutely would not agree with that,” Carson told host Chuck Todd. And in a March CNN interview, Carson said that homosexuality is a choice because people “go into prison straight and when they come out, they're gay.” The doctor later apologized and said he did “not pretend to know how every individual came to their sexual orientation.”

That kind of campaign rhetoric belies Carson's personable nature and



CUTTING EDGE: Carson, here being feted by President George W. Bush, was a pioneering surgeon in the operating room and outside it, and set up a foundation to help youths of all races pursue their academic goals.

FLIPPING THE SWITCH: Many of Carson's friends say he's generous and tolerant, and don't recognize the man portrayed on the campaign trail.

respect for people of all backgrounds, according to people who know and worked with him. They say those traits, even more than his dexterity with scalpels and drills, are what made him an exceptional surgeon. "Ben had a remarkable ability to bring...people together, mainly because he was never interested in his own reputation," Long says. That's a rare trait in the high-octane, ego-driven world of surgery, and one that made Carson very popular with his peers.

Jallo says he can vouch for that, recounting Carson's preparations for the 2004 surgery to separate 13-month-old Siamese twins born joined at the head, Lea and Tabea Block, in Lemgo, Germany. Carson first gained fame almost two decades earlier, when as a 30-something neurosurgeon he directed the 70-person medical team that successfully separated another German pair of conjoined twins, Benjamin and Patrick Binder. But he was no less meticulous this time around. Carson brought the whole team of doctors and support staff together to rehearse the procedure and seek out suggestions. He was listening to everyone, "from the electrician" (to discuss contingency plans for a power outage) "to the biomedical engineers to the cleaning person," Jallo says. "That's very unusual in my experience—there aren't very many leaders who have enough confidence in themselves that they open themselves to everyone in their team."

With patients, Carson was known for his comforting bedside manner, earning him the nickname "Gentle Ben." He worked with very sick children, a difficult field but one he didn't shy away from. "I remember him actually getting down on his knees to talk to me at my eye level," says Usher, who is now 35. She and Carson continue to exchange letters, and she sees him at an annual reunion that brings together fellow hemispherectomy patients.

Though Carson has angered gay rights advocates with his opposition to same-sex marriage and his comment about gays in prison, Brem points out



that when Carson was head of Johns Hopkins's Department of Pediatric Neurosurgery, he trained and mentored openly gay residents, as well as a whole mix of people of other backgrounds and orientations. "He has no prejudice or bias in his own life," Brem insists.

How, then, does one explain the divisive persona he's assumed as a politician? Carson sees no contradiction.

**"I WOULD NOT
ADVOCATE THAT
WE PUT A MUSLIM
IN CHARGE OF
THIS NATION."**

"My approach is that people are people, and that's why...I don't speak on race very often," he tells *Newsweek*. "The skin doesn't make them who they are, the hair doesn't make them who they are. The brain does."

As for his concern about a Muslim president, Carson has clarified that he'd accept a Muslim leader if he or she rejected Sharia. "To me, it has nothing to do with faith, it has to do with a lifestyle," Carson explains. "Islam is more than just religion. It's a lifestyle, and it does not accommodate separation of mosque and state."

Doley says Carson's original comment "was very troubling." It even prompted him to reach out to close friends who are Muslim, to caution them not to jump to conclusions. But he says Carson's subsequent explanations have reassured him and other supporters. "Ben is not a bigot; Ben is a great thinker," Doley says. However, "he does not think in sound bites, and he can't be expected to speak in sound bites."

Other friends have come up with similar explanations for the disconnect with what they hear on the campaign trail. Brem hypothesizes that his friend gets himself "trapped" in statements he doesn't mean. But it's clearly something Brem is struggling with, pausing as he tries to gather his thoughts. "It's hard to explain," he says of the dichotomy between the doctor he knows and the politician. "It's painful to me."



SACRIFICIAL ANTS:
When dropped
into water, fire ants
will clump together
to form a floating
raft. Those at
the bottom of the
ant-raft might not
survive, but the
ability helps pre-
serve the colony.



NEW WORLD



GENDER

STARTUPS

WILDLIFE

ENVIRONMENT

SPACE

INNOVATION

GOOD SCIENCE

A BUG'S DOUBLE LIFE

A colony of fire ants can flow like water or bunch together to form a bouncy ball

PUT AN ARMY of fire ants into water, and they'll link their bodies together to form a solid ball that can float on the surface, transforming into a raft-like assemblage. On dry land, though, that same ball will "melt" as the ants decouple and scurry off. These attributes—along with other amazing abilities, like creating bridges with their bodies that other ants can climb across—inspired a group of engineers and physicists to perform a variety of tests on the insects. Their primary question: Do ants act like liquids or solids?

The answer is both, says Alberto Fernandez-Nieves, one of the study's authors. For example, drop a penny through a slot into a container full of fire ants (and who hasn't?!), and the creatures will move away and let the coin slowly fall to the bottom, as though it is passing through a thick liquid. If you press softly on a ball of ants, the blob compresses slightly but will elastically rebound like a solid.

The team put fire ants into a device called a

rheometer, which is normally used to assess the physical attributes of gels and liquids. They compressed the ants between two plates and recorded what happened when they rotated one plate while the other was held still. At a range of rotational speeds, the ants were able to "equally dissipate energy and flow, as liquids do, and store energy and behave in a 'springy' way, as solids do, in the presence of external forces," Fernandez-Nieves says. "So far as we know, there's no material on earth that acts like ants."

The findings, published October 26 in the journal *Nature Materials*, could have applications for developing game-changing substances. Imagine, says study co-author David Hu, if something were to come flying through a window made of the ant-like material. It could quickly heal itself, as if nothing had changed. Or picture a bridge or board or support beam that could break—for instance, in the case of an earthquake—and then simply weave itself back together. **N**

BY
DOUGLAS MAIN
@Douglas_Main

DISRUPTIVE

NO STINKIN' BADGES

Laws can't keep up with new tech... and that can be a very good thing

IN THE 1910S, the number of cars in the U.S. exploded from 200,000 to 2.5 million. The new-fangled machines scared horses and ran over pedestrians, who had never before encountered anything moving down a street at 20 miles per hour. The state of Georgia classified cars as ferocious animals. By the time any government could pass the very first traffic law, it had to accommodate cars. It could not stop them.

Today, thanks to political gridlock in the U.S., lawmakers respond to innovations with all the speed of continental drift. As government gets slower, tech is going the opposite way. New technologies spread instantly by cloud-based apps and social networks, and take hold with almost no legal oversight. Then, by the time government can act, it's usually too late to wind things back to the way they were.

And this, as it turns out, is terrific for tech startups, especially those aimed at demolishing creaky old norms—like taxis, or flight paths over crowded airspace, or money. Lately, the law vs. tech gap is making headlines as it upends the rules around sports gambling. The daily fantasy sports sites FanDuel and DraftKings are showing how fast technology can exploit the gap and put government on its heels.

FanDuel and DraftKings got their start when FanDuel's CEO, Nigel Eccles, noticed a clause in anti-gambling laws that allow for games of skill, which could arguably include fantasy sports. This year, the two companies perfected their apps, signed up major sports leagues and teams

along with ESPN as partners, raised a combined \$575 million in venture funding, exploited the legal gap and took hold in the mass market.

So now government is upset about what happened when it wasn't looking. Nevada says the companies need a gambling license. The Department of Justice is investigating the legality of the apps. Congress is harrumphing and rustling papers and saying it might hold hearings.

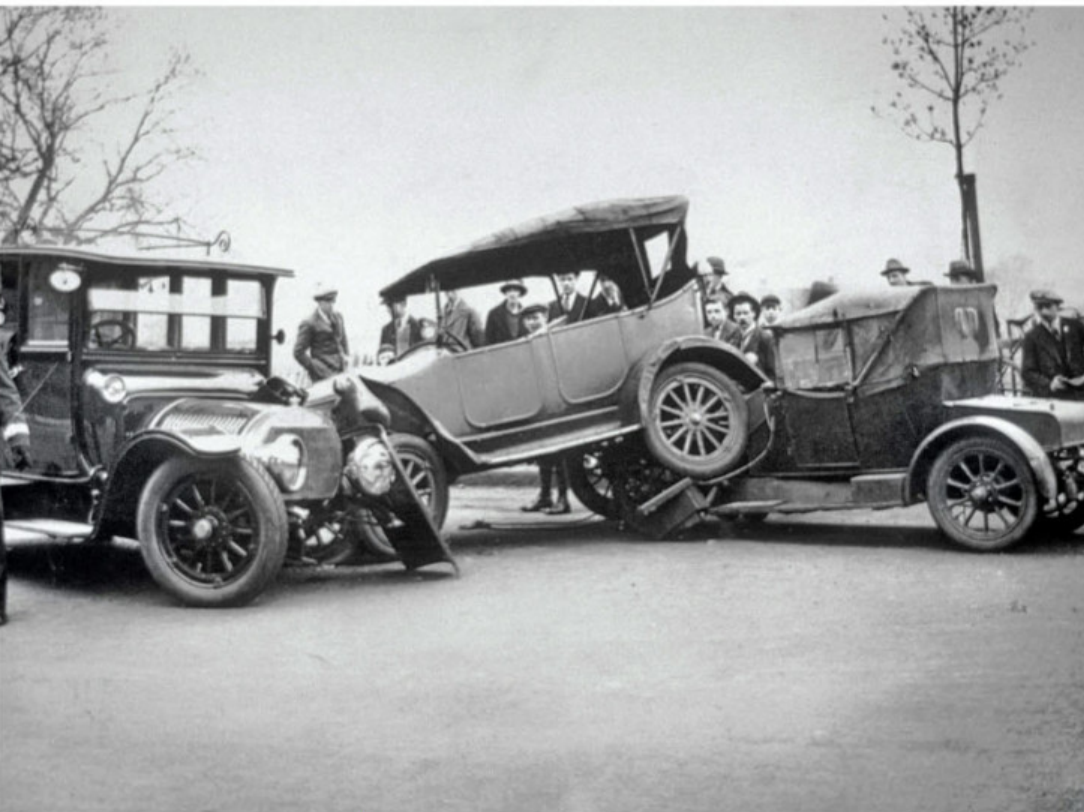
But the officials and politicians are probably too late. The real question for lawmakers is not whether FanDuel and DraftKings fit into old laws that apparently have more holes than Blackburn, Lancashire. It's whether they're willing to take action that would destroy the companies' \$2.5 billion combined value owned by important investors (and campaign donors) like KKR, Comcast, NBC, Major League Baseball and several Silicon Valley VCs. Oh, and maybe lawmakers will think twice before ending an activity enjoyed by around 50 million people, many of them the lawmakers' constituents.

If government had examined the fantasy sites a year ago, shutting them down or putting them in a legal corner would've been relatively easy. Because government was so inept, now it's the one in a corner. Speed to critical mass turns out to be a great strategy in the face of rickety laws and oblivious lawmakers. The faster companies move, the less government can get in their way.

This kind of thing is happening all around us. Drone aircraft are suddenly filling the sky, and a whole multibillion-dollar industry of drone



BY
KEVIN MANEY
@kmaney



CRASH COURSE:
Due to political
gridlock, the gov-
ernment can't re-
act quickly enough
to innovations to
impede them. This
"nurturing inertia"
was important
even when cars
were introduced.

making and drone services has taken hold. Now the Federal Aviation Administration is scrambling to catch up and make rules. If the FAA had been either farsighted or fast moving, at the first sign of drones it might've outlawed them or confined them to someplace like Oklahoma where they can't get in the way of anything too important. But now the FAA is forced to accommodate drones, not the other way around.

Bitcoin is another example. The technology has spawned hundreds of startups funded by billions of dollars of investment. It could remake the global financial system. Bitcoin has become so mainstream, in Las Vegas you can now walk up to a Mike Tyson-branded bitcoin ATM machine. (The *New York Post*, as only it can do, reported the development this way: "Iron Mike Tyson has moved from bit ears to bitcoin.") But have you heard the word *bitcoin* uttered once in any of the presidential debates? Government doesn't even understand bitcoin, and that's been really good for it.

Uber and Airbnb showed how to execute this outrun-the-government strategy. By the time cities understood what those companies were doing, it was too late to block or seriously limit them. New York tried to stop both, ran into outcries from its citizens and backed off. Other cities, like San Francisco, ended up passing laws that allow the companies to keep doing what they were already doing, as long as they pay some additional taxes.

Now there are certainly dangers to consider in this gap. "A genuine public policy crisis for the new economy has emerged," writes Larry Downes, an author and expert on law and technology. Like FanDuel and DraftKings, startups that outrun laws eventually wind up in some kind of distracting or destabilizing fight, often spurred by legacy businesses, such as taxi owners, that are protected by regulations and laws. Downes calls this "an epidemic of misguided efforts by incumbent businesses to apply old laws to new products and services."

The other danger is the risk to society of ungoverned technology. An unchecked plague of drones buzzing around cities would be a problem not unlike cars on anarchic streets in 1916. We want to protect our privacy, the nature of our neighborhoods, our safety and our money from potential harm by new technologies. Coming our way soon will be some really smart artificial intelligence that some super-successful people such as Elon Musk and Stephen Hawking think might pose a danger to humans. They're calling for laws or

NEW TECHNOLOGIES SPREAD INSTANTLY BY CLOUD-BASED APPS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS, AND TAKE HOLD WITH ALMOST NO LEGAL OVERSIGHT.

codes of conduct that would protect us the way we're protected from nuclear bombs.

So to both protect citizens and at the same time allow disruptive technology to flourish, let's get government to stay on top of new developments in a smart, bipartisan, forward-leaning way.

That was a joke. ■



STEALTH GENERATION

The oldest American trans people stayed invisible for decades. Now they need health care but can't get it

IN THE RURAL Pacific Northwest, 50 miles from the nearest city, lives a man who does not want to be found. He came of age during the 1950s, when saying you felt as if you were trapped in a body that you didn't belong in—you were assigned female at birth, but you identified as a boy, say—would be met with at best dismay and confusion, and at worst brutal abuse.

At 14, with no support system in sight, he attempted suicide, depressed at the physical changes taking place in his adolescent female body. At 19, he began taking testosterone, starting the transition into the person he knew he really was. His family told friends “she” had disappeared and then introduced him as a male cousin who had moved to the area. He married, became a stepfather and went off to live his life as a man. He never told anyone about his past. Now in his 70s, he remains deeply closeted (even members of his own family aren't aware of his transition) and deeply isolated (his wife passed away).

Reid Vanderburgh received a call seven years ago from the man, who asked Vanderburgh—a 60-year-old retired therapist and writer who is trans and has worked with close to 500 people on their gender transitions—to help find him a doctor who wouldn't record his transition in his medical notes. Even a confidential paper trail of his past seemed too frightening to face. Vanderburgh eventually referred him to a physician and began to visit him regularly, making

the 160-mile round trip from Portland, Oregon, with his wife, bringing groceries and providing a rare hour of social interaction here and there.

The man, whose identity Vanderburgh hasn't disclosed to anyone, is part of a lost generation within the transgender population, even in a new age of visibility, where Caitlyn Jenner is largely praised and Amazon Studios's *Transparent*, a dramatic Web series about a father and retired professor coming out as transgender, wins awards.

They are the ones who transitioned in the 1950s, '60s and early '70s—from around the time the first plastic Coke bottles appeared in stores through John F. Kennedy's presidency and the Watergate scandal, and long before the advance of sexual-reassignment surgical techniques. This was before *transgender* was even a word in the American lexicon; they never called themselves trans or dared associate with those who did. They made up backstories about their lives, moved away and acquired new jobs. Researchers call it “going stealth.” Now they remain cut off from the LGBT community: They cannot be found at community meetings or pride parades, and they don't show up in surveys or research studies.

Evidence of sex change operations can be found as early as the 1920s in Europe, but it wasn't until the 1950s that they were known in the U.S. In 1952, an Army veteran from the Bronx named Christine Jorgensen became the first widely known trans woman in the U.S. Born

BY
LIANA AGHAJANIAN
[@LianaAgh](#)

George Jorgensen, she underwent surgery in Denmark and made headlines the minute she stepped off a plane when she returned (“Ex-GI Becomes Blonde Beauty,” New York’s *Daily News* said on its front page in 1952). Soon gender identity clinics opened in the U.S. at universities on both coasts, offering evaluations, hormone therapy and sex-reassignment surgery operations.

But discrimination against trans people remained rampant. Even the doctors who performed sex-reassignment surgeries presented it as a treatment to get people from one gender to the next (mostly male to female). After the surgery, individuals were expected to disappear into their new body, if they wanted to live a happy and productive life. Socializing with other transgender individuals or even discussing the transition was discouraged. Instead, blending into society was emphasized. So thousands who underwent procedures back then ended up going

“stealth” for most of their lives.

Those who attempted to live more openly were often pummeled. Marc, a clinical psychologist who works in the Los Angeles area, transitioned in 1979 at the age of 20. (He asked that his real name not be used in order to protect his identity.) A few years later, he started to come out in the comfort of a community led by two trans activists, Jude Patton and Sister Mary Elizabeth Clark, who were based in Orange County, California. They formed support groups and threw pool parties and barbecues with a wide array of gender-nonconforming people at every stage in their transitions. But then a horrific event

FEAR ITSELF: Marc, who asked that his real name not be used, transitioned in 1979 at the age of 20. The violent murder in 1986 of his best friend, a trans man, sent him into hiding.

“VIOLENCE AND ABUSE IS A KIND OF RADIATION BACKGROUND OF OUR LIVES.”





convinced Marc it would be better to disappear.

In 1986, his best friend, a trans man, was shot while he showered by the disgruntled ex-husband of his girlfriend. The killer testified at his trial that “a person that appeared to be a man with no penis or testicles scream[ed] at me, telling me to get the fuck out of his house, threatening me, and I had a shotgun in my hand.”

Traumatized, Marc retreated and went stealth for over a decade. It wasn’t until the late ’90s that he re-emerged and noticed that he had somehow become the oldest trans person people knew—and that there was no one talking about the health problems faced by senior trans people. For the past few years, he has been educating LGBT care providers on the subject, covering awareness of special needs and the heightened risk of abuse and neglect this population faces in settings like assisted living facilities. “Trans people don’t have families of origin. They don’t have spouses, family or children,” he says. “If you don’t have those people advocating for you, you’re far more likely to be abused in a living facility or nursing home.”

For this highly marginalized group, the idea of going into an assisted living facility is a

nightmare. Michelle Evans’s worst fears about care facilities came true just after she transitioned. Evans, a 59-year-old trans woman from Orange County, knew from a young age that her body and mind were at odds, though it took her nearly a lifetime—over 50 years—to fully transition. About a year after she did, she broke both legs in an accident and was forced to stay in a nursing home after surgery. Except that no nursing home would take her, she says.

When she finally found one that would, it insisted on putting her in the men’s ward. Evans protested and eventually ended up with a room of her own, but she says the doctor in charge told her that identifying as a female was “wrong.” The doctor eventually stopped Evans’s hormone treatments and even, in a fit of pique, took her off blood thinners—medication she needed after her surgery. Soon Evans developed dangerous blood clots in her legs. A friend finally intervened and took her back to the hospital, where she was told she had only 24 hours to live—the clots had made it to her lungs.

She survived, but the experience left her traumatized. “It’s changed the way I view doctors. I don’t view [care facilities] as a safe place

+ BAD DOC: When Evans, who transitioned in her 50s, broke her legs in an accident, she was forced to stay in a nursing home after surgery. Most places wouldn’t take her, and the one that did demanded she be treated as a man.



anymore, but a place where I'm cut off from people and that they can do whatever they want." (She also ended up suing the doctor for malpractice; a settlement was reached in Evans's favor.)

In 2013, Tarynn Witten, a professor at the Center for the Study of Biological Complexity at Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU), led a survey investigating chronic illnesses and end-of-life matters in trans-identifying baby boomers. Thirty-nine percent responded that they had no or little confidence in being treated with dignity and respect as trans people by health care professionals at the end of their life. "I do not want to rely on strangers in the medical field that have little to no experience helping people with bodies like mine," one survey respondent wrote. "The day that I need a caregiver, I will implement my end-of-life suicide plan," another declared.

"This is a group of people who are very suspicious because they've been abused, and one of the main abusers is the health care system," says Witten, who transitioned in the 1990s. "Violence and abuse is a kind of radiation background of our lives."

It also has a severe health trickle-down impact: By avoiding health care professionals, these people put themselves at higher risk of dying from normally treatable conditions like high blood pressure and diabetes. In fact, studies have confirmed that transgender older adults suffer far higher levels of depression, disability and loneliness than nontransgender older adults. Seventy-one percent of transgender older adults have contemplated taking their own lives, compared with just 3.7 percent of the general U.S. population, according to the Institute of Multigenerational Health.

Advocacy groups and researchers are increasingly aware of the unique challenges faced by an aging transgender population. For example, Services and Advocacy for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Elders, or SAGE, the country's only national LGBT organization concentrated on aging, published a report in 2012 on improving the lives of older transgender adults. Witten has also introduced a course on transgender medicine at VCU, which will begin this coming semester.

But the patients will also need to become better health advocates. Walter Bockting, co-director of the LGBT Health Initiative and a professor of medical psychology at Columbia University, says success in later life for trans people can partially depend on increased interaction with members of their unique community. "The people who have more support and are connected to other transgender people do better," he says. "They are better able to cope with the stigma and


discrimination that is out there."

Evans, who has mostly recovered from her ordeal (though there's permanent damage to her leg), is attempting to help facilitate these crucial connections. On the third Friday of every month, she leads a group called TG Rainbow, which meets in the Church of the Foothills in Santa Ana, one of the biggest cities in Orange County. Having come from all over the region, members sit on mismatched couches, sharing homemade cook-

"THE DAY THAT I NEED A CAREGIVER, I WILL IMPLEMENT MY END-OF-LIFE SUICIDE PLAN."

ies and stories of their past and current lives. The meetings include transgender people at all stages in their lives: the man who grew up in the Midwest knowing he was different for 58 years is finally transitioning at 70; the person who identifies as a woman inside but doesn't feel comfortable dressing as one, except at these meetings; the 20-something college student who is there with his mother and says he's finally made an appointment with an endocrinologist to begin the process.

"The only thing you need to transition to is yourself," Evans says. They all nod in agreement.

Almost 1,000 miles away, Vanderburgh prepares for a visit to the stealth trans man, the one he's taken groceries to for close to a decade. Vanderburgh desperately wants to reach more trans people like him. He's contemplating putting an ad in AARP's magazine. But for now, as he makes the drive to visit his friend, something simpler and more immediate is on his mind: What if he arrives at the front steps with groceries in hand and the knock at the front door goes unanswered? 

This article was written with support from a journalism fellowship awarded by New America Media, the Gerontological Society of America and the Silver Century Foundation.



KEEPING THE CHESAPEAKE AT BAY

A 400-year-old island town in Maryland is sinking thanks to climate change

TWELVE MILES off the coast of Maryland's Eastern Shore, Tim Marshall and I knife through the salty, choppy waters of the Chesapeake Bay in an aging white fishing skiff. It's a clear, bright August morning, and Marshall, slugging cans of Diet Coke, steers us straight for the approximately 4,500 acres of tidal marsh that make up the federal Martin National Wildlife Refuge. To our backs is Smith Island, the last inhabited offshore island on the Maryland side of the Chesapeake.

Marshall pilots us to the outer banks of the wildlife refuge, where the horizon is nothing but the blue waters of the Chesapeake and a faint speck in the distance—the remains of Holland Island, whose 360 residents fled rising waters and eroding soil in 1922, and which serves as a constant reminder to the people living on Smith Island that they might be frogs in a pot of slowly boiling water. Smith Island too is disappearing, its land eroding as it submerges into the Chesapeake.

Smith Island comprises the wildlife refuge and a stretch of islands directly south, where roughly 280 residents live in three small villages about 5 feet above sea level. But erosion nips away at Smith Island's banks at a rate of roughly 2 feet each year, and a 2008 report predicted that by 2100 Smith Island will be "almost completely under water as the Bay's average level goes up nearly one-foot."

Which is why, even though Smith Island emerged relatively unscathed after Hurricane Sandy hit in 2012, the state's Department of Housing and Community Development offered

Smith Island residents a buyout to move. Most rejected the offer. Some, like Marshall, don't believe there's any risk to living on the island. "The whole sea-level rise—it's BS," he says, talking loudly over the boat's motor. "I've lived here my whole life and haven't seen a difference," he continues, then shakes his head at excavators on barges piling gray stone in front of the refuge's outer bank. Other Smith Islanders wondered why the state didn't offer to pay for new protective seawalls and jetties and dredging projects to pile up sediment on the land they believe can be saved.

Most Smith Islanders believe the island can be saved—if there's the money to do it. There are already some man-made defenses built around the island's shorelines: A jetty protects the western side of Ewell; a bulkhead and riprap—piled stone that acts as a barrier between a coastline and waves—shield Tylerton. But over on Rhodes Point, on Smith Island's west side, a narrow island that acts as a barricade between the village and the Chesapeake is eroding away. While a jetty project designed by the Army Corps of Engineers is ready to go, federal and state funding to construct it has yet to be appropriated.

Even if the Chesapeake can be kept at bay, there's no guarantee islanders will stay: In the past 15 years, a growing number have moved out, seeking better opportunities on the mainland. The question today is what will vanish first—the island or its people?

Inaccessible by car, Smith Island is reached by



BY
ANDREW ZALESKI
[@ajzaleski](https://twitter.com/ajzaleski)

a 45-minute boat ride from Crisfield, Maryland, to the east. Bridges and gravel roads connect the villages of Ewell and Rhodes Point, but the only way to get to Tylerton is on a boat. Smith Island is quaint: There are no chain stores, ATMs or police stations, and mail and supplies arrive daily by boat. Residents drive vehicles brought over by barge, while visitors usually navigate by golf cart or bicycle. A one-room school building accommodates children until they are ready to travel on ferries to the mainland for high school. The Smith Island Baking Company, responsible for Maryland's official dessert, Smith Island cake, is in Ewell. Most of the men who live on the island make their living on the water, crabbing between April and September, then fishing for oysters the rest of the year. In some ways, the island hasn't changed much since it was first inhabited by English settlers in the late 1600s.

As recently as the 1980s, it was still common for young men to quit high school and become watermen, but fishing for crabs and oysters

has become more arduous over the last three decades. "It is difficult to make a living on the water," says Sherri Marsh Johns, executive director of the Smith Island Cultural Center. "The pattern seems to be that our young people stay until they have children—then economics force them to move for better jobs."

Today, just 276 people live on Smith Island. There are efforts to raise that number, but it's hard to bring new residents to a place that, as Chesapeake Climate Action Network Executive Director Mike Tidwell wrote in *The Baltimore Sun* in 2009, "will almost certainly disappear even faster than the Maldives and faster than several much-publicized South Pacific island nations." Global warming appears to be the bandit that can't be stopped. The melting glaciers and loss of ice from Greenland ice sheets have contributed to the rapid sea-level rise in the Chesapeake. The Army Corps of Engineers estimates that some 3,300 acres of Smith Island land have eroded over the last 150 years. Currently, only 900 acres of the island chain are habitable.

For now, life on Smith Island carries on. "The island is going to be just fine. Our problem is we're running out of people," Marshall says to me on his boat in early August. As we head for Ewell, he makes it clear how he feels about media reports claiming Smith Island is falling into the Chesapeake Bay. He asks me if I'm familiar with Public Enemy. Sure, I tell him. He quotes: "Don't believe the hype."

But, in truth, Smith Island's story seems to have been written many times over on other

WATERWORLD:
Settlement on
Holland Island in
Chesapeake Bay
began in the 1600s.
The last residents
fled in 1922, and the
final house stand-
ing, shown here in
October 2010, sunk
later that year.

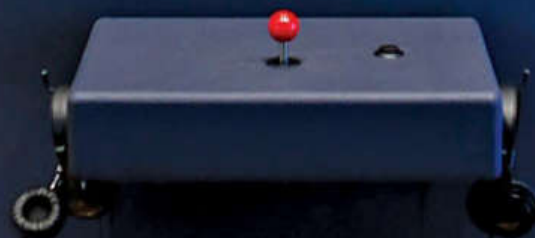


THERE ARE NO CHAIN STORES, ATMS OR POLICE STATIONS, AND MAIL AND SUPPLIES ARRIVE DAILY BY BOAT.

Chesapeake Bay islands: The last residents of James Island, formerly home to hundreds of settlers on 975 acres, left in the early 1900s. Poplar Island, once 1,500 acres and a former retreat for two presidents—Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman—is home now to just wildlife. And Holland Island today is best known nationally for the photograph taken in 2010 of its final house falling into the Chesapeake, another victim of rising seas. **PH**



The Pac-Man game was created by Namco, a Japanese video game company. It was first released in 1980 as an arcade game. The game is a maze game where the player controls a yellow character named Pac-Man who eats dots and avoids ghosts. The game is over when Pac-Man is eaten by a ghost. The game is a classic of the video game industry and has been ported to many different platforms.





DOWNTIME

STYLE

VIDEO GAMES

BOOKS

TELEVISION

ART

TRAVEL

THE GUERNICA OF GAMING

Fallout 4 will be one of the most artistic video games ever. Whether that makes it art is up for debate

+
GAMING THE ART WORLD: Though some critics discount the artistic merit of video games, a new set of titles may soon earn their place in the museum—just like *Pac-Man* did at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 2013, at left.

THE AIR-RAID SIREN wails. Its shriek drowns out the screams on the street. You clutch your wife's hand and run to the shelter. This is not a drill. Your neighbors panic. The bombs are coming. The door to the shelter won't open. The bombs are coming, but the door won't open. This is not a drill.

A flash, so bright you see the bones of your hand, and a violent, invisible force that throws you to the ground. Darkness. A terrible heat follows. A hatch opens beside you. You fall in. You smell smoke and singed hair. Blind and burning, your last thoughts are of your wife: Did she hold our baby tight? Blackout.

Welcome to *Fallout 4*—one of the most highly anticipated video games of the past decade. This isn't Super Mario saving his princess or a massive *Minecraft* map or a cascading stack of crushable candy. It is a richly layered, deeply constructed open world full of dystopian science fiction. Set in a postapocalyptic wasteland outside Boston, *Fallout 4* takes place 200 years after a nuclear

holocaust. Players assume the role of survivors who return to the surface after getting frozen in a vault. They squint into the sun as the vault door creaks open, tasked to explore this bizarre world that's part *Lost in Space* and part *Mad Max*.

The opening scene described above is just a taste of what *Fallout 4*'s creator, Bethesda Game Studios, has spent seven years designing. *Fallout 4* features 110,000 lines of spoken dialogue (the script of *Apocalypse Now* is about 7,500 lines). It's estimated that players will have 30 square miles to explore, including a faithful layout of what Boston, from Paul Revere Mall to Fenway Park, would look like if it survived a nuclear war. In the time it takes to fully explore *Fallout 4*, players could watch the *Godfather* trilogy straight through 40 times.

Fallout's aesthetic cheekily evokes '50s-era sci-fi and the naïveté of early Cold War-era pop culture. The soundtrack, which will be available on vinyl, runs the gamut from malt shop hits to

BY

MO MOZUCH

@mo_mozuch

classical music to burn-in-the-fires-of-nuclear-hell gospel. Robots look more Ed Wood than Michael Bay, and in-game tutorials mimic the tone of those “Duck and Cover” safety films.

It’s one of the most visually striking and narratively immersive games ever made. But despite its many artistic elements, some critics are hesitant to consider a video game, any game, a work of art. In 2005, film critic Roger Ebert wrote that “no one in or out of the field has ever been able to cite a game worthy of comparison with the great dramatists, filmmakers, novelists and composers.” Ebert argued that games are played while art is not, and that games are created to make money, not emotions.

The rebuttal to Ebert’s argument comes, surprisingly, from Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia. In 2011, he wrote the majority opinion for *Brown v. EMA*, a case about a California law that banned the sale of video games to minors. Video game fans latched onto the passage that read, “like the protected books, plays, and movies that preceded them, video games communicate ideas—and even social messages—through many familiar literary devices.... That suffices to confer First Amendment protection.”

For Todd Howard, executive producer of *Fallout 4* and the head of Bethesda Game Studios, there is only one reason some people wouldn’t consider video games to be art. “They haven’t played the right game yet,” Howard tells

Newsweek at the company’s suburban Maryland studio. “What they probably don’t know is that there are games for everybody.”

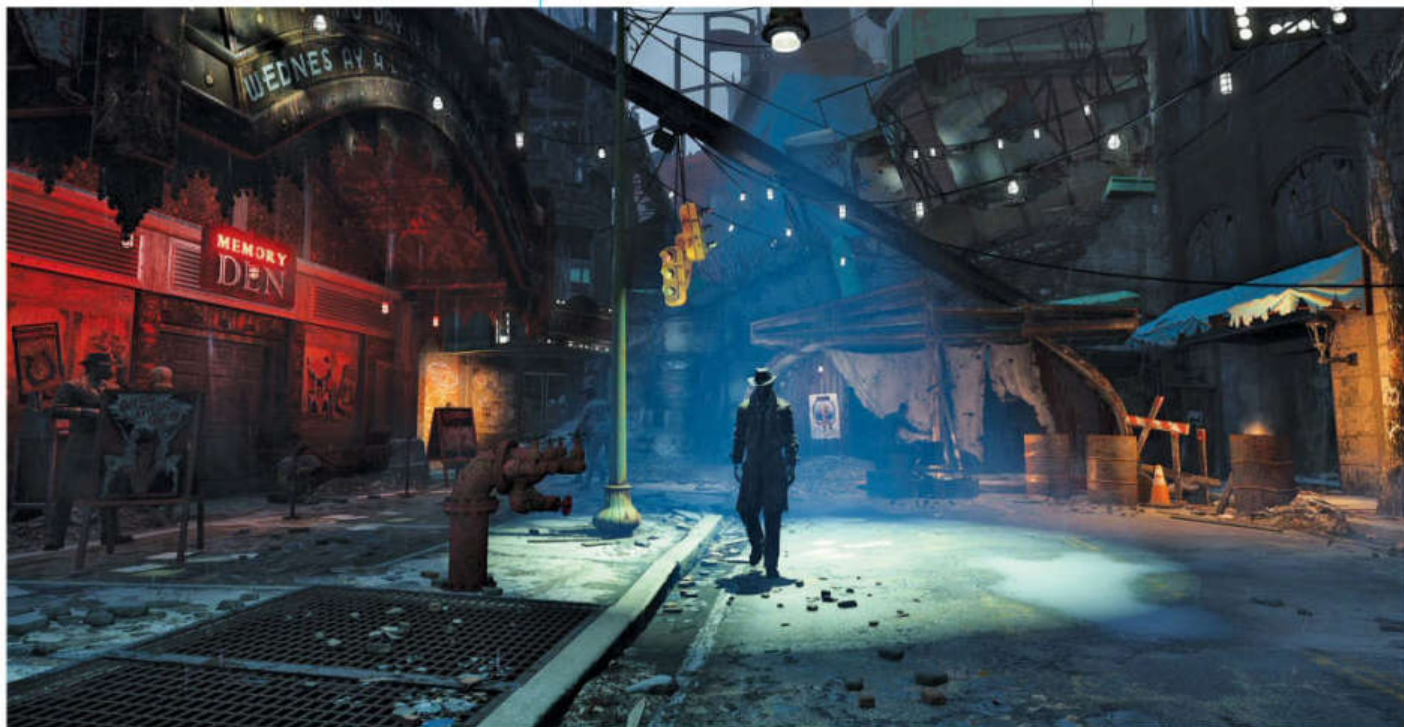
Ebert eventually hedged a little. “It is quite possible a game could someday be great art,” he wrote in 2010 in the self-effacing editorial “Okay, Kids, Play on My Lawn.” Ebert’s caveat was that no game had yet met the criteria for popular art.

Does *Fallout 4*? It is certainly popular. Poised to be one of the best-selling and most critically acclaimed video games of the decade, it’s the biggest project to date for Bethesda. The game developer’s 2011 fantasy epic *The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim* sold more than 18 million copies worldwide. *Fallout 3*, released in 2008, has sold roughly 10 million. Both titles won game of the year at the Game Developers Choice Awards, an annual gathering of industry leaders, in addition to the dozens of awards the games received from industry press outlets such as IGN, *PC Magazine* and GameSpot.

Chris Melissinos, curator for the Smithsonian American Art Museum exhibit “The Art of Video Games,” says video games must be art because they are made of art. “Inside a game like *Fallout 4*, you can observe landscapes and sculpture and orchestration and narrative arcs and principles of design,” he says. “All of these things that, on their own, we put on a pedestal or hang on a wall or write into a book to be published.”

Howard explains how the team attempted to make *Fallout 4* an immersive, artistic experience.

NUCLEAR FAMILY: The striking backdrop of *Fallout 4* combines elements of ‘50s sci-fi, Cold War naïveté and a realistic layout of what a post-apocalyptic Boston might resemble.



"We look for elegance. Not simplicity," he says. "What we're trying to do is what we think is best about video games. We're going to put you in another world. Who would you be? What would you do?"

In *Fallout 4*, the players make ethical decisions and determine moral consequences—often within classic sci-fi scenarios. If a robot looks human, acts human and thinks it's human, should it be treated like a human? Do colonies of irradiated lepers deserve to live in isolation or does the threat of a pandemic justify genocide? These moments are full of what Scalia called "social messages" and are born of literary devices as old as Karel Capek's self-aware automatons in the play *R.U.R.*, which premiered in 1921, or Mary Shelley's postapocalyptic plague survivor Lionel Verney from her 1826 novel *The Last Man*.

"*Fallout* stands apart as an art form because not only is it narrative, not only is it artistically proficient, it is appropriating multiple areas of Americana and culture," Melissinos says. "It's directly based on your moral compass, how you view the world and how you want to see things unfold. And that's why it holds as art. And it holds as some of the most introspective and personal type of art that anybody can engage in."

Howard compares the experience of playing the game to watching a film. "In an open game like ours, the player becomes the director." And where critics like Ebert might argue that a scenario in which a creator gives up control of his or her work takes away its artistic merit, the concept of participants changing the outcome of an artistic work also encompasses elements of performance art and goes back to at least the 1960s, when Brazilian theater director Augusto Boal invited his audience to become "spect-actors." Boal's typical performances involved a scene in which a character was oppressed by an antagonist, and audience members were invited to pause the scene, replace the victim on stage and change the narrative in a way that resolved the conflict in the hero's favor. Sounds like a video game.

"Games can tap into that aspect that something live is happening," says Drew Davidson, the director of the Entertainment and Technology Center at Carnegie Mellon University. "You have these wonderfully evocative experiences where you feel like your choices matter." Davidson says the ETC was born out of a partnership with Carnegie Mellon's performing arts program and that its founders—a mix of technologists and theater buffs—saw video games as an extension of performance art, since both contain elements like setting, narrative and voice acting.

Howard says video games also have a unique



emotional advantage over other media. "There is the range of emotions lots of entertainment can give you, from fear to excitement to sadness," he says. "Games can do that. But the one emotion that only games can [create] is pride. Pride in what you accomplish."

Though naysayers will continue to naysay, at least for now, *Fallout 4*'s creators believe that games will prove their artistic merit. "There's no question what we do is art. And it's an evolving art, as all art over the ages has been," says Istvan Pely, the game's art director. "It takes time to

**"IN THE TIME IT TAKES
TO FULLY EXPLORE
FALLOUT 4, PLAYERS
COULD WATCH
THE GODFATHER
TRILOGY 40 TIMES."**

gain acceptance, but I think this will become the main medium for people to be entertained and to explore the human condition. Which is what art is all about—making people feel things and experience things."

Melissinos, who included Bethesda's *Fallout 3* in the Smithsonian exhibit, agrees. "It's a variety of all the different art forms," he says. He adds, somewhat loftily, that games represent "the apex" of everything humans know about art at this point in the culture. "Video games are not only an art form; they are one of the most important art forms that have ever been at the disposal of mankind."

Unlike other art forms, though, video games are not built to last—technology fades at a much faster rate than plaster and ink. So while critics nitpick the lost meaning of a colored slab of dead wood, let's take time to engage the greatest entertainment technology of our era—regardless of whether it deserves space in a museum. **N**



THE MAN WHO LIKES TO KILL TEENS

R.L. Stine, master of '90s kid horror, is enjoying an unexpected renaissance

R.L. STINE has been murdering teenagers for over 30 years.

Considered the king of young-adult horror fiction—he remembers being described as a “literary training bra for Stephen King”—Stine is best known as the author of the popular 1990s book series *Goosebumps* and *Fear Street*. In the same way J.K. Rowling introduced many a millennial to the recreational reading rainbow, Stine’s prolific penmanship—at his peak, he was writing one *Goosebumps* and one *Fear Street* a month—is the core around which many '90s kids developed a love of fiction.

Stine has continued to write since his heyday, and the 72-year-old author recently returned to his roots with a six-book revival of the *Fear Street* series, whose third installment, *The Lost Girl*, was released in September. *Goosebumps*, a movie based on the series and starring Jack Black as Stine, came out in October.

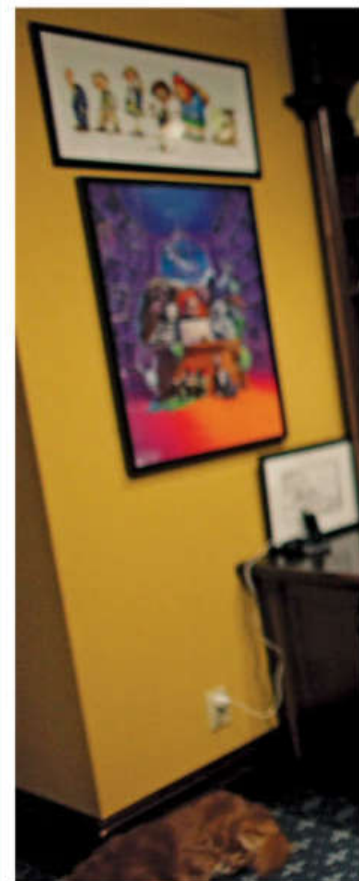
For a man who holds such a lofty place in the fiction canon—he has sold more than 400 million books—Stine is matter-of-fact about his popularity, a humility that seems in part tied to his family. Stine’s wife, Jane, is his editor (“It’s the worst,” he says, smiling), and his 35-year-old son, Matthew, has never read one of his books, despite helping with Stine’s website. “[Matthew] used to sell characters to his friends at school,” Stine tells me. “He’d say, ‘Oh, for \$20, you can be in my dad’s next book.’”

In the decades since Stine started writing *Fear Street*, much has changed for teenagers.

Fortunately, they still have a great capacity for getting murdered. In his latest novels—*Party Games*, *Don’t Stay Up Late* and *The Lost Girl* have already been released; *Can You Keep a Secret?* is slated for April—Stine must account for the adolescent accoutrement of the modern world, in which help is but a Snapchat away. “Phones have ruined so many plots. It’s unbelievable,” he says. “You used to have a *Fear Street* where a girl suddenly gets these frightening phone calls. Now she looks, and she’s like, ‘Oh, he’s calling.’”

Stine finds ways to work around technology or write it out of the equation. In *The Lost Girl*, friends are foiled by the blocked number of a person doling out text message threats. In *Party Games*, a group of teenagers relinquish their phones when they go to Brendan Fear’s birthday party on Fear Island, which has no service anyway. (Given that the town of Shadyside has a long history of murder involving the Fear family, it’s beyond me why anyone still hangs out with them. “I always say, ‘Why don’t they all move from Fear Street?’” Stine asks, as though powerless to thwart the self-destructive tendencies of his characters.)

Ironically, as devices have made teenagers’ attention spans shorter, their fiction is getting longer. The original *Fear Streets* were each 150 pages; those in the revival are closer to 250, and all of them are being released in hardcover—a first for Stine. “[Kids] got used to longer books. Bookstores want longer books so they can charge more, and they don’t want paperbacks,” Stine says with a shrug.



BY
KIRA BINDRIM
@kirabind

The commercial potential of the young adult genre isn't a new discovery—Stine and Ann M. Martin have been milking it for a long time, while more recently John Green has dominated the field—but YA in recent years has become a beacon of hope in an otherwise bleak publishing landscape. Children's and YA book sales grew by 22.4 percent in the first three quarters of 2014 over the same period in 2013, while adult fiction and nonfiction sales fell 3.3 percent. Some of the genre's success can be attributed to the blockbuster power of the *Harry Potter* and *Twilight* series, but YA is also finding broader appeal. A 2012 survey found that 55 percent of young adult novels are bought by adults. "There's a reason why adults read so much YA," Stine says. "It's for the story. These books don't have all the excess. People don't have that much time."

There's plenty of time for bloodshed, though. Over croques and Diet Cokes in New York's SoHo, we discuss the feasibility of *The Lost Girl's* first murder, a planned attack involving horses and

honey that Stine calls "the most gruesome scene I ever wrote." "Do you think it would really work?" he asks me, as though I might bring some homicidal knowledge to bear. Later, Stine dismisses the notion that he might take the *Fear Street* relaunch as an opportunity to capitalize on other YA trends: dystopian futures, sexually confused vampires, postapocalyptic zombies. "I don't like writing zombies; there's not much you can do with them," he says. "You can't, like, hide them among normal people and then it's a big surprise at the end: 'Guess what? I'm a zombie!'"

Stine bats around story ideas like a man who has tons of them, although he says he came to the table with nothing when the *Fear Street* revival was announced. That's in part because he figured it would never happen. After years of tweets about the possibility of bringing the series back, Stine shopped the idea to several publishers (including *Fear Street's* original one, Simon & Schuster) to no avail. "So one night, I [tweeted], 'Thank you for all your interest, but... no publishers are interested,'" he says. Ten minutes later, St. Martin's Press associate editor Kat Brzozowski messaged him. "She said, 'I'd love to talk to you about *Fear Street*.' And that's how it came back. Because of Twitter."

Brzozowski may have started a chain reaction: In October, Stine and 20th Century Fox confirmed that there will be a movie based on the *Fear Street* books. Still, Stine is calm about his renaissance. Perhaps that's because what could look to from the outside like a professional roller

SAY 'CHEESE' AND DIE! Author R.L. Stine, here reading fan mail in his Manhattan home office, is best known for his prolific 1990s series *Goosebumps* and *Fear Street*.

YANA PASKOVA



"MY SON WOULD SELL CHARACTERS TO KIDS AT SCHOOL. HE'D SAY, 'FOR \$20, YOU CAN BE IN MY DAD'S NEXT BOOK.'"

coaster—a writer going from relative obscurity to mega fame to a question in a nostalgia-heavy *Jeopardy!* category about the '90s—was, for him, three decades of writing fiction continuously, all from the same 10-block radius of the Upper West Side ("I don't want to get too far from Zabar's"). Stine is most enthusiastic when discussing the murders of *Fear Street* novels past and the potential murders of *Fear Street* novels future. "I missed killing teenagers," he says. "I enjoyed that. Everyone enjoys that." **N**



WHERE THE WILD THINGS STILL ARE

Its troubles aside, Zimbabwe is a place where one can savor an unspoiled Africa

FOR A BRIEF moment this past summer, the world's attention was focused on Zimbabwe. This was not a result of human rights abuses perpetrated by President Robert Mugabe's security forces, nor the country's full-blown economic collapse—but because a Minnesota dentist named Walter Palmer shot dead a well-known lion named Cecil.

The hunting of Cecil in early July led to a storm of outrage and raised awareness of Africa's endangered wildlife. The mainly Western mourners of Cecil, however, were largely unaware that the lion population in Hwange, the country's main wildlife reserve, is thriving and that habitat loss is a far big-

ger threat to wild animals than American hunters. The African conservation community also saw it as somewhat ironic that a lion attack that killed the Hwange wildlife guide Quinn Swales soon after Cecil's demise passed without much notice.

A few weeks after both Cecil and Swales died violently in Hwange, I joined a small party of tourists on safari in Zimbabwe to see the territory where this drama was playing out. I spent some time in two of the country's best national parks—Hwange and Gonarezhou—and also visited some of the other stunning natural attractions, most notably Victoria Falls and the Matopos, the rock-strewn outcrop where Cecil Rhodes, one of the

BY
GRAHAM BOYNTON
[@BoyntonTravels](https://twitter.com/BoyntonTravels)

HOWARD BURDITT/REUTERS

+
BLUE YONDER:
A Zambian man
somersaults into a
pool at the edge of
the 110-meter-high
Victoria Falls.
One of the seven
natural wonders of
the world, the falls
form the border
between Zambia
and Zimbabwe.

key builders of the British Empire in the Victorian era, is buried. European tourism to Zimbabwe was once one of the country's main sources of revenue, but since mobs backed by Mugabe began seizing predominantly white-owned farms in 2000 and bellicose anti-white rhetoric grew in intensity in the country's political discourse, many Europeans—especially the British—crossed off Zimbabwe as a tourist destination.

Now they are starting to go back to the country, mainly because despite its confrontational government's anti-Western ranting, Zimbabwe is a peaceful and friendly country to visit and the message has been getting out. Also, later this year the new Chinese-built Victoria Falls Airport is due to open, and this is expected to be a boon not only for Zimbabwe tourism but for wildlife holidays throughout this region. The Zimbabweans are hoping that the new airport will become an aviation hub for tourists who will disperse from there not only to Zimbabwe's wilderness areas but also to neighboring Botswana, Zambia, Namibia and even South Africa.

On this trip we spent our first two nights in Victoria Falls, staying at the 100-year-old Victoria Falls Hotel, which oozes colonial history and is just a short walk from the mighty falls. From the balcony of the Victoria Falls hotel you can sip gin and tonic, watch the African sun go down, hear the thunder of the falls and gaze in wonder at the massive clouds of spray, all of which inspired David Livingstone to utter those much-quoted words: "A scene so lovely must have been gazed upon by angels in their flight."


Hwange is a couple of hours by road from Victoria Falls; an early-morning drive had us installed in camp before lunchtime. Hwange boasts more than 100 mammal species and 400 bird types, and more than 450 lions are in the park, one of the most successful populations of any African national park. There are also massive herds of elephant and buffalo and a variety of ungulates—sable, roan, eland, kudu. As a result, predators such as lions, leopards, cheetahs and wild dogs have flourished. And although the killing of Cecil had some impact on the lion prides in terms of territorial occupation, there was not the wholesale infanticide that often follows the death of a powerful pride male. Jericho, Cecil's coalition partner, seemed to be holding on to the territory the pair had ruled over, and Cecil's sons, Xanda and Sixangani, appeared to be taking over a neighboring territory. We saw several prides during our four days in Hwange but were never able to track down those principal males. But we did hear them calling at night, their rich, resonant roars carrying for miles across the African *bushveldt*.



What we did encounter in their hundreds, was elephants, with many swirling around the camps we stayed in. At dusk and dawn, parades of giant pachyderms went to and from the waterholes near those camps. Here the elephants seem habituated to visiting tourists and appeared unconcerned by our presence. By contrast, on the last four days of this Zimbabwe safari we encountered real wild elephants in Gonarezhou National Park in the country's southeastern Lowveldt. This is a region of spectacular 2,000-year-old baobab trees, scrublands and dramatic sandstone cliffs, a remote area that has never had many tourists, mainly because it is so far removed and inaccessible. We stayed at Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge, owned by Clive Stockil, one of Zimbabwe's most

HABITAT LOSS IS A FAR BIGGER THREAT TO WILD ANIMALS THAN AMERICAN HUNTERS.

celebrated wildlife conservationists and recipient two years ago of the Prince William Conservation Award for his pioneering work engaging local rural communities in wilderness protection.

Every time we closed in on a group of elephants in Gonarezhou, we were reminded by Stockil and his guides to stay still, speak in whispers and be aware that we were encroaching on their space. It was a fitting reminder of what Africa must have been like before *Homo sapiens* overran the wild places. There are few truly remote parts of Africa, such as Gonarezhou, that are left to explore, but it is reassuring to know that, for the time being at least, here in Zimbabwe there is some true wilderness left. 

GRAHAM BOYNTON traveled to Zimbabwe with the Ultimate Travel Company (WWW.THEULTIMATETRAVELCOMPANY.CO.UK). A 10-day safari taking in Hwange, the Matopos and Gonarezhou starts around \$14,000, including international flights.



THE CURATED LIFE

WHITE-COLLAR WONDER

Charvet, the world's first shirt shop, is still without equal

CHARVET, on the Place Vendôme in Paris, is not just one of my favorite shops—it is one of my favorite spots on the surface of our planet. Charvet is the sort of place where you can never imagine anything unpleasant happening. There is an Old World civility and a respectful hush that engenders in me the sort of spiritual calm that others seek in Himalayan monasteries or Indian ashrams.

Charvet is the Vatican of the shirt, where poplins and silks are pondered over in much the same manner that theologians debated weighty spiritual and liturgical matters at the Council of Nicaea. More than a shirt shop, Charvet is central to France's sense of identity: When General Charles de Gaulle, who wore white shirts with detachable collars that he changed three times a day, learned that Charvet was in danger of falling into American ownership, he shared this fear with Denis Colban, a cloth merchant, who understood what was expected of him. Colban did his patriotic duty and bought the famous shirtmaker. Today, his children, Anne-Marie and Jean-Claude, run the business.

I first pushed upon its famous plate-glass door about 25 years ago. I had, of course, heard of it, but nothing prepared me for the sight of an entire upper floor on the Place Vendôme piled from floor to ceiling with lengths of shirt fabric, and there at the end was a wall of white—or, to be correct, I should say whites. Not dozens but hundreds of different shades, cloths, weaves and finishes of white.

I tend to speak of Charvet as having 400 different whites, but Jean-Claude Colban believes there are “rather more,” and I suppose the next time I am passing and have a spare afternoon I will just have to count them. It is the sheer variety of white shirts available that makes me boil with anger when some *soi-disant* commentator on style talks about the basic simplicity of a classic white shirt; that's like talking about the basic simplicity of a white motor vehicle without specifying whether it is a car, motorcycle, delivery truck, tricycle or scooter.

Once you spend a bit of time talking to Colban, as I did on a recent visit, it becomes clear how even 400 is far from being a complete library of white shirtings. Speaking quietly and precisely, he describes a maze of variables that require a mathematical mind as much as sartorial understanding to navigate. “There are different weaves, different yarns, different conceptions of the same cloth,” he says. “Take a simple, honest broadcloth; you may wish to have it very fluid and light, or you may wish to have it with a lot of body and very compact. You could give it a silky handle or a cotton-like handle.”

Colban talks of the relationship of weight to handle; of the difference imparted by one-, two- and three-ply yarn; and much more besides. Summing up with the open-mindedness of a philosophy lecturer and the evenhandedness of the diplomat, he says, “All these opinions on the same fabric are valid, depending on what you want to achieve.”



BY
NICHOLAS FOULKES
[@nicholasfoulkes](#)



**THE PALETTE
CLEANSER:**
Charvet sells
over 400 kinds
of white shirts,
with variations
of fabric, shade,
weave and subtle
patterning.

For Colban, the white shirt is also a playground of pattern. “The introductions of tiny jacquards and Dobby patterns are more elegant and acceptable on white, while in color we found them to be a bit”—he pauses to reflect on his choice of description—“far-fetched.” Which is about as close as he will get to saying that a colored shirt in a fancy weave risks vulgarity. Besides, he says, there is more than enough variation in color on a white shirt. Returning to his broadcloth to illustrate his point, he says, “It could be finished with a blue hue or a very yellowish hue—more suitable for Middle Eastern wearers, a pink hue [for consumers in the Far East] or purple hue [for consumers in America].”

Colban can, at times, see the map of the world in terms of its types of cotton. America is the home of Pima cotton, characterized by its pure, almost antiseptic whiteness. “Some people consider Pima cotton is the most suitable to produce white shirts because it is supposed to be very clean and not polluted by external bodies,” says Colban. By contrast, Egyptian Giza cotton is “very close to extra-long staple, so-called

Sea Island cotton, and produces cotton with more light and elegance—but it can be affected by different bodies [or impurities], as it is hand-picked in Egypt.” Personally speaking, I can live with a few “different bodies” if it means the delicious, crisp silken feel of Sea Island cotton against the skin—as long as it is natural, as there is a tendency to coat cotton with silicon to give it an unreal smoothness, and that can lead to imperfections in the seams of a shirt.

The joy of spending time in Charvet is that an hour can pass in this manner, debating the merits of the tiny differences that separate one white cotton from another white cotton. The beauty of the white shirt is that it is a field in which research is ever broadening the scope of human knowledge on the subject—and Charvet continues to pursue something of a shirt holy

grail: a white that is whiter than any other white.

“There are two ways, theoretically, to achieve a very white level of white,” says Colban, the shirt master. “One is to use a whitened yarn, and the second is to weave a fabric and whiten the finished fabric. Just for our own interest, we decided to do a superwhite that was double-whitened

CHARVET CONTINUES TO PURSUE SOMETHING OF A SHIRT HOLY GRAIL: A WHITE THAT IS WHITER THAN ANY OTHER WHITE.

using optical white yarn and, once the fabric was made, whitening that.” Alas, he says, the resulting “difference in shade was not sufficient.”

Still, looking on the bright—or do I mean white?—side, at least that means there is one less white to count the next time I find myself with time to kill on the Place Vendôme. **n**



ORIENT EXPRESSED

A new Rijksmuseum exhibition explores the 17th-century Dutch fascination with Asian luxury goods

PICTURE THIS: A passion for luxury goods from the other side of the world enflames a newly affluent society; such artifacts are valued partly for their intrinsic beauty and quality but maybe even more as status symbols; local craftsmen and artisans spot an opportunity to produce and sell ever more sophisticated imitations. Surely I am talking about the contemporary craze in China for brands like Louis Vuitton, Gucci, Hermès and Château Lafite. Or am I?

The fascinating exhibition “Asia > Amsterdam: Luxury in the Golden Age,” at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, tells the story of how 400 years ago, following the founding in 1602 of the Dutch East India Company (VOC, from the Dutch spelling), Dutch society was swept up by a passion for all things Oriental—for Chinese tea, silks and porcelain; for Japanese lacquerwork; for Indian ivory and ebony.

At the very top of Dutch society at the time, the de facto head of state, Stadtholder Frederick Henry, and his consort, Amalia of Solms, acquired magnificent lacquer cabinets, still in the Dutch royal family’s collection. The wealthiest merchants and landowners adorned themselves with magnificent silks and bought the finest porcelain plates, vases and vessels. These were depicted in splendid portraits, such as the one in the Rijksmuseum show of the VOC official Wollebrand Geleynsz de Jongh—wearing an opulent silk outfit—painted by Caesar van

Everdingen, and in sumptuous still lifes by the likes of Willem Klaesz Heda and Willem Kalf.

But the fashion and passion for high-quality Asian goods also spread throughout the world’s first bourgeois society. Artists such as Rembrandt built up substantial collections of Oriental curiosities. Rembrandt’s collection included shells, stuffed animals, weapons and Indian miniature portraits, of which he made exquisite copies.

In an era of competing colonial European powers, the Dutch punched above their weight as traders—and that global reach sparked and facilitated their desire for Asian craftsmanship. Though the VOC never succeeded in trading directly with China, it set up a trading post at Hirado in Japan in 1609. After the Shimabara uprising of 1637–1638—during which the Dutch cynically helped to crush a Christian Japanese uprising—Holland was left as Japan’s only European trading partner, doing business from the tiny island of Dejima, near the city of Nagasaki. Dutch merchants made full use of their privileged position, establishing a booming trade in porcelain and the extremely costly lacquer.

Of all these Oriental luxury goods, it was probably porcelain that made the greatest impression on the Dutch. Chinese and Japanese porcelain, far finer, smoother and more translucent than the earthenware made in Europe, seemed like a quasi-magical substance. Its ability to reflect light was captured with extraordinary virtuosity

CHEDDAR FOR BURCHERS: The extraordinary craftsmanship of Asian goods made them a status symbol for the wealthy Dutch.

BY
HARRY EYRES

CABINET ON STAND,
17TH CENTURYBLUE-PAINTED DISH,
C. 1630-CA. 1650BOW BROOCH,
C. 1650-C. 1675

by Kalf. Homes in Holland were rearranged to display collections of plates and other objects. Very quickly, Dutch potters, especially in the city of Delft, began to imitate the blue and white Oriental porcelain in using tin-glazed earthenware and adding a second clear glaze, crudely at first and then with increasing sophistication. Though porcelain was not made in Europe until the 18th century, Dutch blue and white ware became a phenomenal success from the 1630s onward.

Lacquer—the ultimate luxury—posed even greater challenges to European craftsmen wanting to produce homespun versions of valuable imported Asian goods, as the resin of the lacquer tree was not available in Europe and the manufacturing process less well understood. Nevertheless, enterprising artisans and entrepreneurs were not deterred: As early as 1609, Willem Kick applied for a patent to produce “all manner of lacquerware, like that brought in from the East Indies.” Kick’s efforts

REMBRANDT’S COLLECTION INCLUDED SHELLS, STUFFED ANIMALS, WEAPONS AND INDIAN MINIA-TURE PORTRAITS, OF WHICH HE MADE EXQUISITE COPIES.

do not really compare with magnificent Japanese pieces such as the two cabinets from the Dutch Royal Collection, once owned by Albertine Agnes, fifth daughter of Amalia of Solms and Frederick Henry, which have very rarely been publicly displayed before.

Another fascinating feature of this ferment of trade is how the luxury items became modified by the demands of the export market. The Japanese were at first contemptuous of the gaudy export lacquerware made for the European markets, calling it *namban*—Western barbarian stuff. However, the Western liking for symmetry ended up influencing even the finest pieces.

There is a sense in the Rijksmuseum show of a society falling in love with objects not only more lavish but also more finely crafted than any they had seen before, and then of a joyful promiscuity of cultures and styles. Luxury goods have often offended Puritans. In the city of Leiden in the early 18th century, university students were banned from wearing banyans, or Japanese “skirts,” at Sunday church services. But this show makes a strong case for beautifully crafted artifacts as a force for good. It’s hard to say whether Louis Vuitton bags, Hermès scarves and fine bottles of Bordeaux, together with their Chinese imitations, are affecting China in quite the same way, but “Asia > Amsterdam” makes it clear that a nation’s passion for beautiful objects from far away transformed a dour Protestant society and brought great joy into the lives of hard-working burghers. ■



REWIND

20
YEARS



NOVEMBER 13, 1995

IN "DO WE NEED SATAN?" BY
KENNETH L. WOODWARD

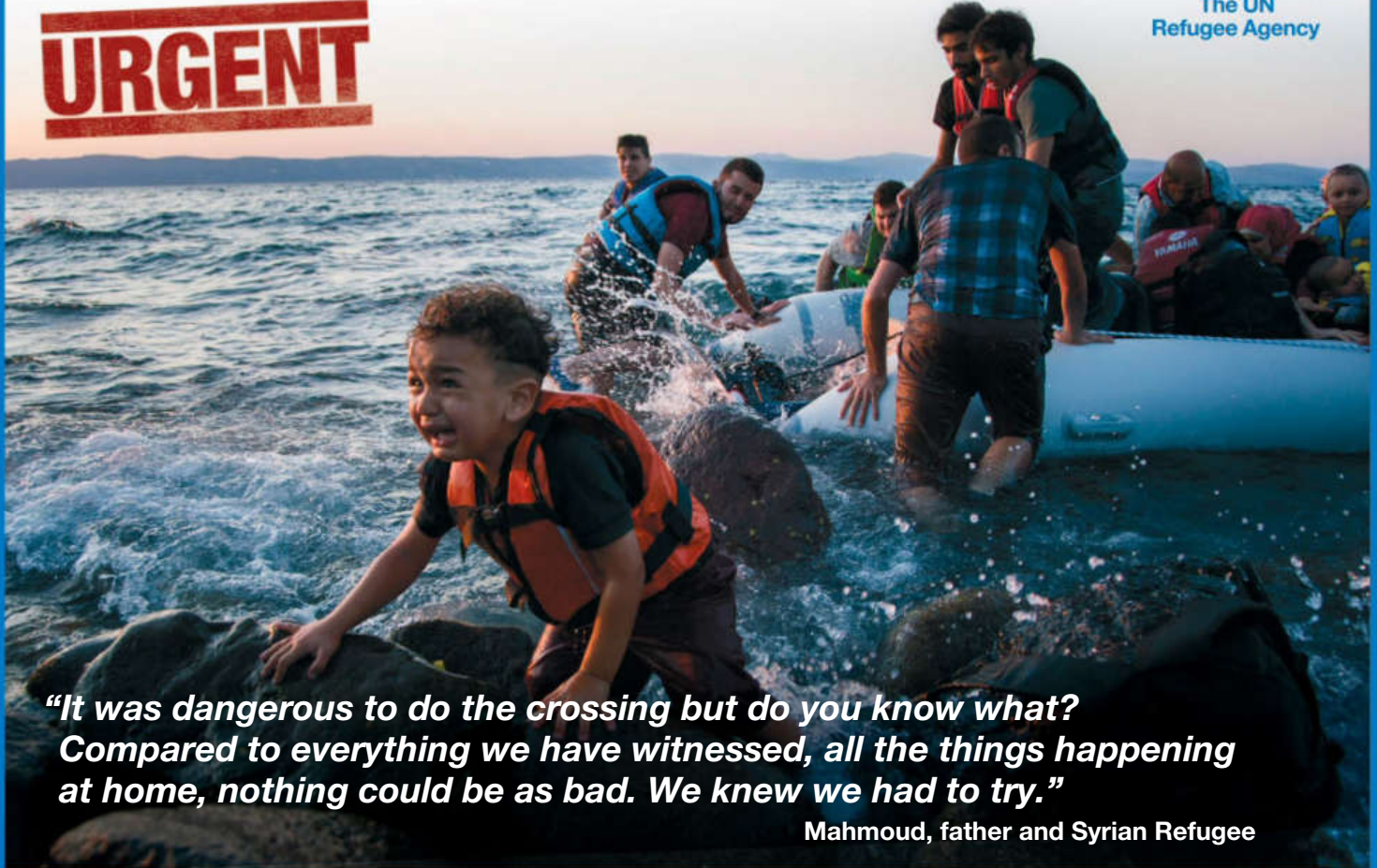
“**Look** at the parking lot outside any church,' suggests Princeton University sociologist

Robert Wuthnow. 'If you see Lexuses and Cadillacs, you won't hear Satan preached inside. If you see a lot of pickup trucks, you will.'”

REFUGEE CRISIS IN EUROPE

FAMILIES FORCED TO FLEE THEIR HOMES

URGENT



"It was dangerous to do the crossing but do you know what? Compared to everything we have witnessed, all the things happening at home, nothing could be as bad. We knew we had to try."

Mahmoud, father and Syrian Refugee

Over 400,000 people have crossed the Mediterranean during 2015, undertaking unthinkable journeys from countries like Syria, that have been torn apart by war and persecution.

These families are fleeing for their lives, risking the treacherous sea and land crossings. Many having no choice but to board over-crowded, flimsy boats to give their children a chance of safety. For some, this desperate journey will be their last. Almost 3,000 people have drowned trying to reach safety in Europe. The crossing is dangerous but for many families making this journey is the only choice they feel they have.

UNHCR is on the ground providing life-saving assistance but we need your help.


You can help provide shelter, food, water and medical care to vulnerable families arriving in Europe.

With so many in need and as more continue to make this journey, your donation today is vital and will help UNHCR to save lives and protect families who have been forced to flee their homes.

\$120 can provide emergency rescue kits containing a thermal blanket, towel, water, high nutrient energy bar, dry clothes and shoes, to 4 survivors.



PLEASE GIVE WHAT YOU CAN TODAY. VISIT [DONATE.UNHCR.ORG](https://donate.unhcr.org)

A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER 

WIDEN YOUR
WORLD

TURKISH
AIRLINES



HAVE
YOU BEEN
EVERYWHERE
YET?

TURKISHAIRLINES.COM